CULTURE CROSSROADS

CONTENT

INTRODUCTION

The Latvian Academy of Culture is pleased to release the 16th volume of the international peer-reviewed journal *Culture Crossroads* dedicated to examining the interaction of cultural, artistic and creative processes in national economy, politics and social life.

This volume finds the operators in the cultural and creative field, including researchers, in an unprecedented situation of prolonged uncertainty and broad-scale adjustments to safety measures related to the global pandemic of COVID-19. The papers included in the volume, however, reflect the period before the pandemic.

Yet the content of the volume has direct relevance for today's concerns, as the authors of the papers, each of them, remind the reader about the sources of strength of the cultural and creative sector, even if they discuss controversial and ambivalent aspects of the sector's activity.

Controversy and ambivalence create conditions for reflection and the emergence of new attitudes, and produce creative outcomes. All of the papers in the volume address the endless supply of creativity in human society – be it in verbal or visual language, organisational forms or governance, public debate or professional self-perception. In this respect, the papers in the volume reflect the vibrancy, the flux and constant transformations of the cultural and creative sphere, and demonstrate the numerous ways in which all of us are involved in creating and recreating combinations of existing meanings and practices, thus participating in the endless process of creativity.

On the level of individual papers, each of the authors in this volume has engaged with a distinctive and significant dimension of cultural, artistic or creative life.

Anita Naciscione brings the reader into the domain of cognitive linguistics. In the paper "Proverbs in the System of Language and their Creative use: a Cross-Cultural View" the author revisits proverbs and the ways in which they reveal infinite diversity of expression in figurative thought.

Elīna Veinberga, the author of the second paper of the volume, "Stylistic Techniques in the Representation of Latvian Character: a Study of Gatis Šļūka's Cartoons" demonstrates the visual and verbal interaction of diverse stylistic patterns of cartoons on the Latvian character and spirit.

The paper "Latvian Artistic Field from the Artists' Viewpoint" presented by Signe Grūbe aims to untangle the perceptions of fine art artists of the autonomy or

mutual relationship of the artistic and social fields. The author finds out that while sociologists see artists as formed in historical processes and institutions, the artists tend to consider themselves autonomous.

Moving from language and fine art to theatre, the fourth paper in the volume focusses on examining the interplay of technology and the actor's speech. Zane Daudziņa's paper "An Actor's Speech Tools in the 21st Century" posits that nowadays' actors cannot be imagined without technical aids, and examines the ways in which technology influences the development of theatrical language and the actor's speech.

The next contribution focusses on governance of the Song and Dance Celebration tradition. Kristīne Freiberga, Baiba Tjarve and Ieva Zemīte in their paper "The Role of Participatory Governance in Safeguarding the Tradition of the Song and Dance Celebration" examine the sustainability of the tradition and avenues of participation by the tradition community. Certain controversy is uncovered both in regulation and practice.

The theme of controversy and ambivalence is continued in the paper "Artists and Cultural Workers and the legacy of KGB in the Actual Public Discussion Landscape in Latvia" by Liena Galēja and Ojārs Stepens. Both authors examine the ways in which myths and narratives referring to recent history are born, by focusing on the legacy on KGB and its actualization in the public discourse around the relationship of artists and KGB. The paper examines the framing and portrayal of this relationship in social memory representations.

The final paper of the volume addresses the broad issue of transcultural communication, through the lens of examining specific activities to raise public awareness about cooperatives during the Raiffeisen Year 2018. The author Jan-Erik Burkard in the paper "The International "Cooperative Code" Comparison of Transcultural Communication Strategies of European Cooperatives in Germany and Austria in the Reiffeisen year 2018" argues that the transcultural component of the cooperative idea should be studied to help to solve current challenges posed by globalization.

Taken as a whole, these papers present a broad landscape of cultural and artistic processes, each aspect functioning as a reservoir of creativity. The Latvian Academy of Culture extends sincere gratitude to all the authors who had engaged in revisions during this challenging time in order to complete this collection. May the papers find numerous interested and dedicated readers, and serve as inspiration for further research on the issues presented in the volume.

Ilona Kunda
Deputy Editor-in-chief

PROVERBS IN THE SYSTEM OF LANGUAGE AND THEIR CREATIVE USE: A CROSS-CULTURAL VIEW

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Abstract

Proverbs form part and parcel of intangible cultural heritage. They are handed down from generation to generation and retained in the collective long-term memory of a people, constituting part of their language and culture. The purpose of this paper is to revisit proverbs and examine some of their essential features in the system of language and in their creative use in discourse from a cross-language and a cross-cultural perspective. This approach calls for semantic and stylistic analyses of empirical material, which I have chosen from my own archive of English and Latvian proverbs.

Linguistic examination of proverbs promotes an understanding of their functioning across the broad spectrum of languages and cultures, bringing out similarities in the figurative structure of their base form and their stylistic use in various types of discourse. Cognitive linguistic research on proverbs reveals an infinite diversity of expression of figurative thought: a manifestation of the capacity of the human mind for abstraction and generalisation. The study of figurative meaning of proverbs and its changes in discourse accounts for the uniqueness of their stylistic use in text, which lies in the creativity of the cognitive mind. Stylistic use of the same proverb and the same stylistic pattern yields a different creative form of expression. Novel stylistic instantiations emerge in discourse as a reflection of the development of figurative thought.

Keywords*: proverb, cognitive linguistics, metaphor, conceptual metaphor, collective long-term memory.*

Introduction

When studying my empirical material, I have performed cognitive linguistic analysis of proverbs to account for their figurative meaning and types of figuration in the system of language. For the purposes of cognitive semantic analysis, I have relied

on the method of identification[1] of figurative meaning in discourse [Naciscione 2001: 33–46, 2010: 43–55, 252]. The procedure is applied in order to establish the identity of the proverb and explore its use, including instantial stylistic use.[2] In the process of identification, the stages – *recognition* ᴠ*erification* > *comprehension* > *interpretation* – form integral parts of a unified cognitive process. I have also used the method of critical metaphor analysis [Charteris-Black 2004, 2014], as it integrates linguistic analysis with cognitive understanding and social context. I agree that "no single methodology is privileged over others or considered the gold standard of investigation" [Talmy 2007: xi]. When researching proverbs, one method cannot meet all the challenges, as proverbs are a complicated multidimensional figurative phenomenon.

A cognitive perspective of proverbs

My approach to proverbs is cognitive linguistic when examining base forms[3] in the system of language and their functioning in core use[4], and when analysing instantial stylistic use in discourse. Cognitive linguists have researched the human ability to think figuratively – an essential characteristic of the human mind. In the cognitive view, proverbs arise from figurative thought: they are linguistic manifestations of figurative thought, including the cognitive skills of abstraction and generalisation. I rely on the findings of cognitive linguistics about the role of metaphor in figurative

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[1] In this century, the term *identification* has been used in research as a method for identifying figurative language material and its use. Although I published it in my first book in 2001, I actually formulated and applied it when I was faced with the task of identifying all phraseological units in the *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (3610 in number) and all cases of their creative use for my dissertation. This method perfectly suits the needs of analysing phraseological units, proverbs included.

Steen [2002a, 2002b] demonstrates a five-step procedure of metaphor identification, later developed by the Pragglejazz Group [2007].

Charteris-Black explores metaphor identification as one of the four principal stages of critical metaphor analysis [2004, 2014: 174–186].

[2] Instantial stylistic use is a particular instance of a unique stylistic application of a PU in discourse resulting in significant changes in its form and meaning, determined by the thought and the context. An instantiation is a specific instance of a stylistic realisation in discourse. It is an infinite resource for the writer's or speaker's creativity [Naciscione 2010: 252].

[3] The form to which other forms of the PU can be related and with which they can be compared, in practice is the dictionary form and meaning, recorded as the headphrase. It is the form of the PU outside discourse, used as a base when assessing PUs used in discourse. The base form is stored in the long-term memory of the language user.

[4] Core use is use of a PU in its most common form and meaning. In its core use the PU does not acquire additional stylistic features in discourse and does not exceed the boundaries of one sentence, the same as the base form.

language in general and the function of conceptual mappings in proverbs and their use in particular [Gibbs 1994: 310–317].

The cognitive metaphor theory is a framework "for understanding the pervasiveness of metaphorical language and thought across a wide range of cognitive domains and cultural/linguistic environments" [Gibbs 2017: 6]. Studies by cognitive psychologists and neuropsychologists [Gibbs 1994, 2008, Lakoff 2008] have proved that proverbs conceptualise personal and social experiences, human behaviour, abstract thought, and the external world. Their research reveals how people think and their ability to think and reason abstractly [Gibbs and Beitel 2003: 109–115]. It is cognitive processes that determine stylistic changes of proverbs in actual use and the emerging new meaning in discourse that reflects our ongoing thoughts.

Proverbs in the focus of different fields of research

Proverb lore presents an enormous wealth of empirical material in different languages. Every language may boast innumerable proverbs of various structural types and an admirable diversity of imagery and lexical composition. Proverbs have been researched from many points of view: folklore, anthropology, etymology, ethics, philosophy, culture, mass media, social sciences and several others. This opens up a broad field of investigation and yields different definitions. In research, the theoretical stance explains the great differences in attitudes and approaches to proverbs and their use. The theoretical perspective will be implicit in research questions and dictate the researcher's choice of methodology.

Cognitively, proverbs reflect the whole gamut of human thoughts and emotions, and the external world with its various personal, political, social and cultural experiences. Proverbs are viewed as a complicated and multidimensional phenomenon, displaying "multiple facets of human experience" [Gibbs 2017: 7].

In Latvian research, proverbs are explored as part of folklore [Kokare 1957]. They are qualified as folk expressions, including aphorisms, conveying ethical and aesthetic values, firmly linked with Latvian culture and hence valued as part of the intangible Latvian heritage.

In lexicographical practice, Latvian dictionaries also classify proverbs as folklore. For example, *ne mana cūka, ne mana druva* (folkl.)[1]. (It is not my pig and it is not my cornfield (folklore). The meaning is: I couldn't care less.)

The theory of Latvian stylistics tends to be conventional, striving to achieve correctness, precision and purity, and stipulating that only neutral vocabulary should

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[1] Latviešu valodas skaidrojošā vārdnīca (Dictionary of the Latvian Language). *Cūka* (a pig). Available: https://www.vardnica.lv/svesvardu-vardnica/c/cuka (viewed 05.04.2019.)

be used in official style: official speeches, business and scientific texts [Rozenbergs 2004: 57, 84]. As proverbs are figurative language units, clearly this prescription refers not only to single metaphors but also to proverbs. Accordingly, this approach has also been introduced in school books to teach Latvian official style and ensure that literary language norms are strictly observed[1].

A linguistic approach to proverbs

Linguistic aspects of proverbs have been less researched by far, or even completely neglected. Linguistic and stylistic interest in proverbs goes back to Aristotle. In his seminal book "Rhetoric", Aristotle regards proverbs as figurative formations and formulates the basic tenet that "proverbs too are metaphors from species to species" [(350 BC) 1833].

The development of paremiology as a special area of proverb research emerged at the beginning of the 1930s. Taylor is universally recognised as the father of paremiological scholarship. His ground-breaking work "The Proverb" [1931] presents a systematic linguistic study of proverb issues. He also examines the folk character of proverbs, indicating that a proverb is a saying current among the folk. The same thought is expressed by Whiting, who emphasises the popular origin of proverbs. Moreover, he believes that proverbs are felt to be common property as they convey a generalisation [Whiting 1931, 1968].

The post-war period has witnessed rapid development in proverb studies. Mieder's research represents a huge contribution to the development of paremiology in numerous aspects [1989, 1993]. This is invaluable not only for the general advancement of paremiology as a special field of research but has also provided motivation and encouragement to many researchers in various areas of paremiology.

The basic linguistic understanding of proverbs in both the system of language and their stylistic use will promote an understanding of their functioning across a wide diversity of languages and cultures, bringing out similarities in the semantic figurative structure of their base form and their stylistic use in various types of discourse.

Proverbs as part of phraseology

As language units, proverbs belong to phraseology. This premise was advanced by Kunin, a leading representative of the Russian school of phraseology [Kunin 1970, 1986]. Proverbs are stable figurative language units, forming one of the structural types of phraseological units.

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[1] *Latviešu valoda. Stilistika, 6. klase: teorija, uzdevumi un testi* (The Latvian Language. Stylistics Form 6: Theory, Exercises and Tests). Available: https://www.uzdevumi.lv/p/latviesu-valoda (viewed 12.02.2019.)

The theory of stability in phraseological units (proverbs included) was elaborated by Kunin in the 1960s. Kunin singles out stability of use, structural-semantic stability, lexical stability, morphological stability and syntactical stability [Kunin 1970: 89–110]. I would argue for two other important aspects of the concept of stability: 1) stylistic stability, which is manifest in preservation of the same image and type of figurativeness, and 2) diachronic stability, which displays the stability of proverbs across time [Naciscione 2010: 58]. Stability of the base form does not contradict the dynamic stylistic changes that proverbs may undergo in discourse.

Linguistically, I hold that proverbs are stable, cohesive combinations of words with a fully or partially figurative meaning and the structure of a sentence [Naciscione 2010: 19, 2013b: 16–19]. In the system of language, proverbs are standard out-of-context units. In their base form, they never exceed the boundaries of one sentence (declarative, interrogative or exclamatory). However, instantial stylistic use usually covers more than one sentence, frequently going across boundaries of paragraphs and chapters, as figurative thought does not stop at the end of a sentence.

In the cognitive semantic view, proverbs present original images used in a creative way, reflecting unique emotional and social experiences of people, their observations and generalisations of thoughts, behaviour and the world around them. They form part of the collective long-term memory of a people due to their semantic and stylistic cohesion.

Importantly, proverbs are not a stylistic void in their base form: their figurative meaning may be based on different stylistic patterns or a combination of these [Naciscione 2010: 36–38]. Figurativeness is one of the inherent features of proverbs and stipulates that at least one of their constituents must have a figurative meaning. Stylistic features play a cohesive role along with stability of the unit. Let me illustrate the main types of stylistic patterns in proverbs:

> ~ metaphor, e.g., EN *There is no smoke without fire*. LV *Tukša muca tālu skan*. (An empty barrel makes much noise. Meaning: Empty boasting.)
> ~ metonymy, e.g., EN *Two heads are better than one*. LV *Labā roka nezina, ko kreisā dara*. (The right hand does not know what the left hand is doing (a proverb in EN too)).
> ~ personification, e.g., EN *Money talks*. LV *Nelaime nenāk viena*. (Misfortune does not come alone.)
> ~ antithesis, e.g., EN *Less is the new more*. LV *Mazs cinītis gāž lielu vezumu*. (A small grassy knoll overturns a big cartful. Meaning: Little strokes fell great oaks (a proverb in EN)).
> ~ euphemism, e.g., EN *Heads will roll*. LV *Dienas ir skaitītas*. (Someone's days are numbered.)

~ hyperbole, e.g., EN *A watched pot never boils.* LV *Nav kur adatai nokrist.* (No place for a needle to fall).

Attitudes to proverbs and their use, especially creative use, vary from country to country. For instance, in Africa widespread use of proverbs both in written form and orally, including official public speeches, is seen as a sign of wisdom and a great sense of humour, which is much appreciated. The importance of and love for proverbs form a common thread that unites Africa's diverse societies. They are a vital part of African oral tradition and actual use, including all stylistic levels, e.g.

~ *A good leader was once a good follower.*
~ *Chattering birds build no nests.*
~ *You don't teach a giraffe to run.*

In Africa, proverbs are taught at school. For instance, in Zimbabwe oral teaching of proverbs as ancestral insight starts before teaching reading at school, that is, starting from Form 1. Interestingly, following Mieder's idea, the USA and a number of European countries have compiled a paremiological minimum to be taught at different stages of the school curriculum.

To sum up, in the cognitive view, proverbs arise from figurative thought: they are linguistic manifestations of figurative thought and the human ability to think figuratively, including the cognitive skills of abstraction and generalisation.

Instantial stylistic use of proverbs

In their base form, proverbs demonstrate the human ability of abstraction, the same as other structural types of PUs, while creative use proverbs lie in the human ability to create novel stylistic instantiations that emerge in discourse as a reflection of the development of figurative thought. This is the result of cognition. In cognitive linguistic terms, instantial stylistic use is a mode of conceptualisation. Proverbs are dynamic in discourse, e.g.,

Love is blind.
Love l o o k s n o t w i t h t h e e y e s , b u t w i t h t h e m i n d ;
And therefore is w i n G e d C u p i d painted **blind**:
Nor hath **Love' s** m i n d of any judgement taste;
W i n g s a n d n o e y e s figure unheedy haste.

<div align="right">William Shakespeare</div>

Diachronic records reveal that this proverb has existed throughout the course of history, functioning both in core use and in creative instantiations. It has been part

of the mental lexicon of people across the centuries due to the stability of its structure and figurative meaning. Moreover, this proverb is a metaphorical generalisation, reflecting people's social and individual experience.[1]

These lines are based on the stylistic pattern of allusion. The metaphorical image of the base form of the proverb is extended, providing metonymic links of contiguity and performing a sustainable cohesive text-embracing function. Let me give another example of creative use of proverbs, drawn from MoE political discourse:

> **You can't have your cake and eat it.**
> This scenario will in the first instance be painful for Britons. In fact, the words uttered by one of the leading campaigners for Brexit and proponents of the "**cake philosophy**" was pure illusion: that o n e   c a n   **have the** EU **cake and eat it** too. To all who believe in it, I propose a simple experiment. B u y **a cake, eat it**, a n d   s e e i f   i t   i s   s t i l l   t h e r e   o n   t h e   p l a t e.
> The brutal truth is that Brexit will be a loss for all of us. T h e r e   w i l l   b e   n o c a k e s   o n   t h e   t a b l e. For anyone. T h e r e   w i l l   b e   o n l y   s a l t   a n d   v i n e g a r.
>
> Donald Tusk, *Speech at the European Policy Centre*, 13.10.2016.

It is common knowledge that inferences are constantly drawn not only from what is overtly said but also from what is implied. This is a more complicated case of allusion. The proverb does not appear in its full form in the whole of the keynote address (the same as in the example above). The explicit image-bearing constituents of the proverb perform a metonymic function, acting like a recall cue alluding to the proverb, providing a web of associative links and securing sustained associative vision, enabling the reader or listener to see beyond words. The pattern of allusion may involve other stylistic patterns to make the associations work. In this instantiation, allusion involves punning on the metaphorical meaning of the proverb and the literal meanings of its constituents, presented ironically. The proverb has become a recurring part of the Brexit debate, exploited for sustained reasoning and argumentation. Allusion is frequently used in political speeches today. While it is a subtle reference, it is also a powerful strategy; it can be highly concise and economical, using very little language to convey semantic and stylistic subtleties of the issue involved.

Extended metaphor is another widespread pattern of stylistic use of proverbs. My empirical material reveals that proverbs function in different discourses for

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[1] In English, the proverb *Love is blind* was first recorded in 1386: Chaucer, *CT*, *The Merchant's Tale*, 1. 354. For **love is blind** al day, and m a y   n a t   s e e. However, diachronic evidence has it that the proverb was well-known in Ancient Greece. Theocritus, an ancient Greek poet, uses it in *Idyll* x 19 in the 3rd century BC. In the Old Latin Period, it is recorded in the plays of the Roman playwright Plautus (2nd century BC) [Simpson 1992: 58].

different purposes as they easily lend themselves to extensions and variations. This proceeds from their imagery and conceptual nature. Extension of the proverbial image is usually achieved in search of a novel, more accurate expression of human thought and experience, e.g.,

LV **Ūdens smeļas mutē.** (Water is rising up to one's mouth.)

Tādas lietas tagad, draugs, sev var atļauties tikai ministri un baņķieri. Nabaga tirgotājam jāķepurojas, lai **ūdens nesmeļas mutē**, c i t ā d i n o g r i m s i , pat l ā g a b u r b u ļ u s n e p a s i s d a m s .

<div align="right">Pāvils Rozītis</div>

(Such things now, my friend, can only be afforded by ministers and bankers. The poor merchant must desperately struggle so that water should not get into his mouth, otherwise he will sink, without even having made any bubbles.)

Extension of a common proverb serves to form a sustained figurative thought, providing space for creativity. Each extension presents admirable diversity and striking turns of phrase, involving unexpected sub-images, which at the same time are firmly linked to the base metaphor of the proverb:

LV **Dzīve ir teātris.** (Life is theatre.)

Dzīve ir teātris, kurā n e v i e n s n e z i n a s c e n ā r i j u , bet v i s i l i e n a i z - k u l i s ē s , l a i p i l d ī t u s u f l i e r a p i e n ā k u m u s .

(Life is theatre, in which no one knows the scenario, but everyone pushes on to get behind the scenes to perform the prompter's duties.)

<div align="right">*IR*, 04.10. 2018., p. 54</div>

Empirical observations reveal how extended metaphor works as a structure of figurative thought and language in different cultures and languages in different periods of their development; hence, use of extended metaphor does not depend on the peculiarities of a particular language or the stage of its development. As a structure of thought, extended metaphor forms part of the mental structures of the mind. It is a mode of reflecting extension of a proverbial thought. A cross-language and cross-culture view reveals that proverbs are an integral part of the human conceptual system.

Proverbs and conceptual metaphors

Proverbs reflect our metaphorical conceptualisation of experience. Hence, as figurative units, many proverbs are motivated by conceptual metaphors. Moreover,

"proverb understanding involves conceptual mapping" [Gibbs 1994: 314]. Conceptual metaphors serve as motivation for proverbs and their mental imagery [Gibbs, Strom, Spivey-Knowlton 1997: 81–110]. Cf.:

Metaphorical Conceptualisation of Experience:
Proverbs versus Conceptual Metaphors

Proverbs EN	Conceptual Metaphors EN & LV	Proverbs LV
Love is fire.	LOVE IS FIRE. MĪLESTĪBA IR UGUNS.	Mīlestība ir uguns.
Love is blind.	LOVE IS BLIND. MĪLESTĪBA IR AKLA.	Mīlestība ir akla.
Time is a value.	TIME IS VALUE. LAIKS IR VĒRTĪBA.	Laiks ir vērtība.
Time is money.	TIME IS MONEY. LAIKS IR NAUDA.	Laiks ir nauda.
Time is a thief.	TIME IS A THIEF. LAIKS IR ZAGLIS.	Laiks ir zaglis.
Life is theatre.	LIFE IS THEATRE. DZĪVE IR TEĀTRIS.	Dzīve ir teātris.
Patience is a virtue.	PATIENCE IS A VIRTUE. PACIETĪBA IR TIKUMS.	Pacietība ir tikums.
Life is not a bed of roses.	LIFE IS NOT A BED OF ROSES. –	–
Life is not a rose garden.	LIFE IS NOT A ROSE GARDEN. DZĪVE NAV ROŽU DĀRZS.	Dzīve nav rožu dārzs.

A number of scholars have noted the closeness between certain proverbs and conceptual metaphors. Apart from abstraction and a certain degree of generalisation, in many cases the syntactical structure of proverbs – conciseness of expression and brevity of form – bears a discernible similarity to conceptual metaphors.

Proverbs frequently contain metaphorical meanings which have been formulated over the centuries. "Metaphors provide a general mechanism for understanding the general in terms of the specific" [Gibbs 1994: 313], which is "one of the key features of proverbs" [ibid.]. I would argue that it is also one of the key features of conceptual metaphors. This explains the affinity between proverbs and metaphors.

It is apparent that not all proverbs present a distinct link to conceptual metaphors. For instance, the proverbs *Truth is a lonely warrior* and *Truth is a hard taskmaster* are stable metaphorical units in the system of language; however, they

have not been identified as conceptual metaphors. Clearly, these concepts are not widespread in English. In Latvian they do not exist at all.

The links between conceptual metaphors and proverbs certainly call for further exploration, based on ample empirical material and cognitive linguistic research.

Conclusion

Paremiology requires a cognitive understanding of proverbs as figurative units in thought and language, and their use and instantial development in discourse. A linguistic view of proverbs invariably explores linguistic categories and their functioning. However, as an interdisciplinary search it also needs to acquire significant insights into proverbs, drawing on stylistics, cognitive linguistics, history of language, discourse studies and others, all of which open up new avenues for further research and offer vast opportunities for the creative mind of paremiologists.

In cognitive semantic terms, the proverb is one of the modes of conceptualising the world and human experience. New inimitable stylistic cases of use reflect the creative development of figurative thought. A cognitive approach helps to explain instantiations of stylistic patterns (extended metaphor, allusion and others) in discourse. Extension of figurative meaning reveals the workings of the human mind and discloses the art and craft of creation. Stylistic use of proverbs facilitates cognition.

Proverbs need to be studied as part of the conceptual system of language. A cognitive approach to proverbs calls for further exploration of their semantic structure, functioning across languages, centuries and cultures.

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STYLISTIC TECHNIQUES IN THE REPRESENTATION OF LATVIAN CHARACTER: A STUDY OF GATIS ŠĻŪKA'S CARTOONS

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Abstract

The purpose of the article is to study a variety of cartoons by the famous Latvian cartoonist Gatis Šļūka who often represents Latvia and Latvians, capturing their very character and spirit. The main objective of this study is to examine diverse stylistic patterns and their visual and verbal interaction.

The frequent use of stylistic patterns implies that Latvian thinking is naturally figurative. The cartoons often mock various predicaments in different domains of life. To appreciate the complete meaning of a cartoon, it is crucial to understand the historical and social context of the cartoon, especially if it is not analysed around the moment of its creation.

The most recurrent stylistic pattern that appears in nearly all analysed cartoons is metonymy, thus it can be concluded that metonymy plays the most important role in meaning construction. There are other significant stylistic techniques such as personification, allusion and pun. In most cases it is possible to state that interaction of stylistic patterns is evident in the cartoons.

Keywords: *cognitive stylistics, humour, metonymy, metaphor, stylistic pattern.*

The aim of this article is to analyse the role of stylistic techniques and their interaction in the visual and verbal representations in a selection of collected empirical material[1] of Gatis Šļūka's cartoons that portray Latvia and Latvians. The main **research question** concerns the type and frequency of stylistic techniques used in rendering the character of Latvians and their country.

Theoretical framework of the article is based on a cognitive stylistic and cognitive linguistic approach following different research findings in cognitive linguistics and studies on multimodal metaphor, metonymy and other stylistic techniques

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[1] More than 200 cartoons have been collected from 2008 to 2018. A selection of the most salient examples has been analysed in this article.

[Lakoff and Johnson 2003; Gibbs 2002; Goodman 1996; Kövecses 2002; Forceville 2009; Naciscione 2010; Veinberga 2014]. Since cognitive linguistics and cognitive stylistics consider *stylistic techniques* not merely decorations of language, but patterns of thought, the terms *stylistic technique* and *stylistic pattern* are used interchangeably. Both terms denote figurative use. There are other terms with the same meaning that are considered dated, especially in the view of cognitive stylistics, for example, *trope* or *stylistic device*. In this article the role of stylistic techniques as patterns of thought, natural phenomena that form the basis of the way we think is explored.

Research methods applied to the analysis of stylistic patterns observed in the cartoons are based on Anita Naciscione's **four-stage method**. The four-stage method includes recognition, verification, comprehension and interpretation [Naciscione 2001: 33–46; Naciscione 2010: 43–55]. At the stage of recognition, it is established whether the given representation has a figurative meaning. Verification stage helps to confirm the figurative meaning and to determine which stylistic technique it is, for instance, a metonymy, metaphor, pun, allusion, etc. During the phase of comprehension, it is ascertained whether there is any interaction of stylistic patterns. It is important to observe the figurative meaning construction that is a case of discoursal use [Naciscione 2010: 50]. The interpretation stage is the analysis that is conducted based on the interaction of the verbal and visual representation; and it is viewed in the political, social, and cultural context the cartoon has been created. Since the cartoons present non-verbal examples, they are analysed as both patterns of visual thought representation and language units. It is also possible to call it a **four looks method** when recognition is the **first look** detecting the figurative meaning; verification is the **second look** in which the stylistic pattern is identified; comprehension is the **third look** to reveal the figurative meaning construction and interaction of stylistic patterns; and interpretation is the **fourth look** when the particular case is considered in its social, political and cultural context [Veinberga 2016]. Discourse analysis is applied when language is studied together with extra-linguistic factors [Schiffrin, Tannen, and Hamilton 2010: 1–10].

A **cartoon** is *a simple drawing showing the features of its subjects in a humorously exaggerated way, especially a satirical one in a newspaper or magazine* [EOLD 2018]. Cartoons are used to satirically portray and thus deride people's folly or wickedness, which is especially topical to discuss current politics and raise other recent concerns. It could mean that the representations of Latvians would not be very favourable in the cartoons.

Latvians are often stereotypically seen as reserved, envious, conservative and very practical. They talk a lot, especially when they have to complain, unfortunately, they are not very active when it comes to actually improving their situation [Boldāne 2011: 171–220]. Many of these features lend themselves to mockery. It has to be

taken into account which generation of Latvians is referred to because those who belong to the young generation are often more open-minded, tolerant and confident.

Gatis Šļūka is one of the leading Latvian cartoonists. He has a master's degree in art; and he has published several books of contemporary cartoons. His cartoons concern many themes that are important for most Latvians: culture, our country, nature, migration, money, Europe, various festivities and others. Gatis Šļūka depicts the country of Latvia as a personification of an old woman who has suffered a lot; nevertheless, she is vigorous and resilient. An average Latvian is depicted as a singer, whiner, ice fisher, mushroom gatherer, arsonist of last year's grass, admirer of Kristaps Porziņģis, etc. [LSM 2018a].

These days any discussion on figurative language mostly starts with the question of **metaphor**. It is very common to state that metaphor can be expressed by using this formula: **A** is **B**. However, it is not always clearly explained what A and B stand for. It would be fair to say that these letters were first used in writing that has survived to the present day by the father of theory on rhetoric and poetics, Aristotle. He claimed that *metaphor consists in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else; the transference being either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, or on grounds of analogy* [Aristotle 2001: 1476]. Aristotle used four letters: A, B, C and D to explain the essence of metaphor [Aristotle 2001: 1476–1477]. Apparently, A and B have stood the test of time. When defining metaphor, it is defined as an instance of understanding one thing (thing A) in terms of another (thing B), and usually an abstract thing (A) is conceived in terms of a concrete or physical thing (B). A and B belong to different *conceptual domains[1]*, and they are based on similarity. We think in metaphors and live by them [Lakoff and Johnson 2003]. For instance, if a heterosexual woman utters a statement "Andrew is hot. When we meet, there are sparkles", we can identify a *conceptual metaphor* LOVE IS FIRE[2]. In cognitive linguistics, stylistic techniques such as metaphor and metonymy are regarded as natural phenomena that form the basis of the way we think [Gibbs 2002; Lakoff and Johnson 2003].

Case studies

Seven topical cartoons that show Latvia and Latvians drawn by Gatis Šļūka from 2008 to 2018 have been chosen for the case studies.

The first selected cartoon was created in 2008 when the State of Latvia celebrated its 90th birthday. Latvia is shown as a **personification** of an old woman (see Figure 1).

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[1] *Conceptual domain* is a segment of our memory for preserving certain types of experience, e. g., education, journey, knowledge, light, love, life, work, etc. If we imagined that all our memories were stored in a cabinet, one conceptual domain would be one shelf of this cabinet.

[2] Conceptual metaphors are typically emphasised by the use of capital letters.

According to the theoreticians of stylistics and cognitive linguistics personification is a stylistic technique and a pattern of thought *in which an inanimate object, animate non-human, or abstract quality is given human attributes* [WDS 2001: 294]. Personification is an ontological metaphor when different abstractions: activities, emotions, or ideas are denoted as something concrete or physical, for instance, objects, substances, containers, or people [Lakoff and Johnson 2003; Lakoff and Turner 1989; Gibbs 2002; Kövecses 2002]. In the following cartoon Latvia as an abstract entity is shown as a person, i.e. an old lady.

Figure 1. *What would you like to have for your centenary?*
Gatis Šļūka, 2008.

Latvia is engaged in a conversation with her leaders:
- What would you like to have for your centenary?
- First of all, to blow up all those whiners!
- Well, as usual, the main thing: fireworks.

One can tell that the old woman is Latvia by her head scarf that bears the colours of the Latvian flag and the word "Latvia" written on it. The head scarf with the name of Latvia is a **metonymy** for the country. The definition of metonymy can be derived from the definition of metaphor. Instead of similarity metonymy is based on associations of contiguity or closeness, and instead of two conceptual domains, metonymy functions in the same conceptual domain [Lakoff and Johnson 2003; Gibbs 2002]. If conceptual metaphor can be expressed by the formula **A** is **B**,

metonymy uses a formula **A** stands for **A¹** or **A¹** stands for **A** [Krasovska 2013; Veinberga 2014]. If we imagine that Andrew who was mentioned in the example of a metaphor has red hair, the metonymy example could be this "if you do not know where the library is, ask the red hair"; here the hair stands for the person who has it as an important feature.

The briefcase is a metonymy that stands for a minister of the government. The Latvian expression *sadalīt ministru portfeļus* means "to distribute cabinet posts of the government". Both men in the cartoon are wearing suits, and a suit metonymically stands for a serious job of an official.

The humorous effect of this cartoon is based on misunderstanding of the literal and figurative meaning of the word combination *uzspert gaisā.* It is a phraseological unit in Latvian [LFV 2000: 341–342], and it literally means "to kick up in the air", but the metaphorical meaning is "to blow something up". It is a verbal **pun** as it is the case of a disagreement between different meanings of a word or expression. Geoffrey N. Leech calls pun *a foregrounded lexical ambiguity, which may have its origin either in homonymy or polysemy* [Leech 1991: 209]. "Lexical" typically relates to words, and in this example, it is the ambiguity of a phraseological unit. Latvia, personifies as an old but vivacious and resilient woman, is annoyed by people who are whining and wishes she could blow them up while the official who is taking notes does not understand it. Ironically, he reinterprets what the old woman has said, based on metaphorical similarity of the phraseological unit *uzspert gaisā* to literal meaning of the expression "to blow something up".

It takes a rather lengthy explanation to identify and describe all the stylistic patterns in one use of a cartoon (see Table 1), however, in reality they all interact, and the viewers understand them together, after reading the caption. A cognitive psychologist Raymond Gibbs talks about *on-line comprehension* and *immediate moment-by-moment* understanding of figurative meaning that functions automatically [Gibbs 2002: 306, 447–448].

Table 1. *Stylistic patterns of Figure 1 "What would you like to have for your centenary?"*

Stylistic pattern	Visual elements	Verbal elements
personification	old woman with a head scarf with the Latvian flag	head scarf with the text "Latvia"
pun	–	**to blow up** all those whiners as usual, the main thing: **fireworks**
metonymy	head scarf with the flag and text "Latvia" → Latvia (the country)	briefcase → minister suits → officials

The next cartoon is another example of personification of Latvia (see Figure 2), and it illustrates one of the stereotypes associated with Latvians.

Figure 2. *Darn it! I am lost...*
Gatis Šļūka, 2011.

This old woman can be identified as a personification of Latvia by her skirt that has the colours of the Latvian flag and the text "Latvia" written on it. The skirt is a metonymy for Latvia.

Gathering mushrooms is considered to be a stereotypical occupation of different generations of Latvians during the summer and autumn. The basket is a metonymy for a mushroom gatherer who is a typical Latvian. The basket is full of mushrooms, nevertheless there is one mushroom outside the basket. This is a fly agaric which is not edible, most probably it indicates that all the edible mushrooms have been picked by the industrious gatherer. This situation might happen to people who go into the forest and gather the mushrooms without noting their course. Gatis Šļūka says that his auntie Latvia *is more of the countryside, a little bit naive, believes in everything, and sometimes she gets lost in the forest. But she has got resilience and she has got guts* [LSM 2018a]. This cartoon is often used by different internet portals when they discuss confusing political issues, for example, the lustration process that involves publishing of the KGB files containing information about the index cards of the Soviet secret police agents. In such a use the bear looming behind the tree could be recognised as a metonymy for Russia since it is often conceptualised as a bear.
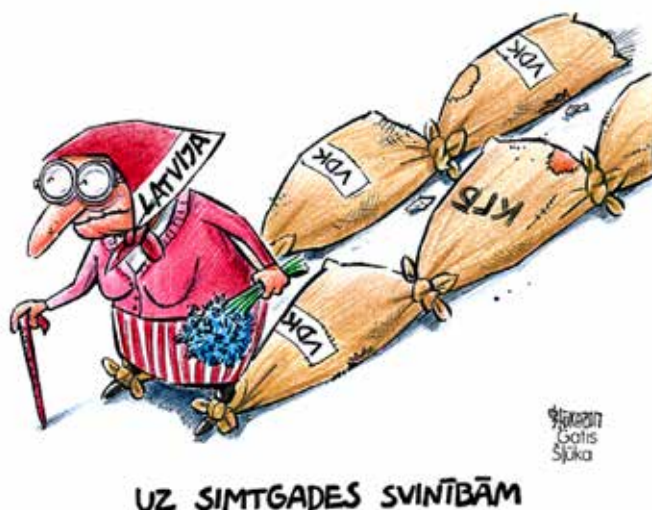
Figure 3. *To the celebration of centenary.*
Gatis Šļūka, 2017.

The succeeding cartoon features another personification of Latvia; and it is related to the abovementioned KGB files (see Figure 3). *Known colloquially as the 'Cheka bags', because they were discovered stashed inside cloth bags, the KGB files are a document trove that was found during the 1991 barricades inside the KGB building on Brīvības street 61 currently housing the Stūra māja KGB museum* [LSM 2018b]. The texts on the bags are "KGB" in Latvian and Russian. Personification of Latvia is identified by her head scarf with the flag and text: metonymy that stands for the country. The flowers in her hand stand for a celebration (see Table 2).

Table 2. *Stylistic patterns of Figure 3 "To the celebration of centenary".*

Stylistic pattern	Visual elements	Verbal elements
personification and metonymy	old woman with a head scarf with the Latvian flag	head scarf with the text "Latvia"
metonymy	*Cheka bags* → KGB archive	KGB in Latvian and Russian → KGB archive
metonymy	flowers → celebration	celebration

The *Cheka bags* are instances of metonymy: they stand for the KGB archive that is to be publicised[1]. The reason why they are tied to Latvia's feet is the protracted

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[1] The archive was made publicly available on December 20, 2018 online: https://kgb.arhivi.lv/

process that lasted for 27 years. At the time when the cartoon was created it was not apparent when and whether the files would be made available.

The subsequent cartoon features the already mentioned mushrooming. Three baby boys metonymically stand for their nations (see Figure 4); and the meaning is constructed via interaction of the verbal and the visual part (see Table 3).
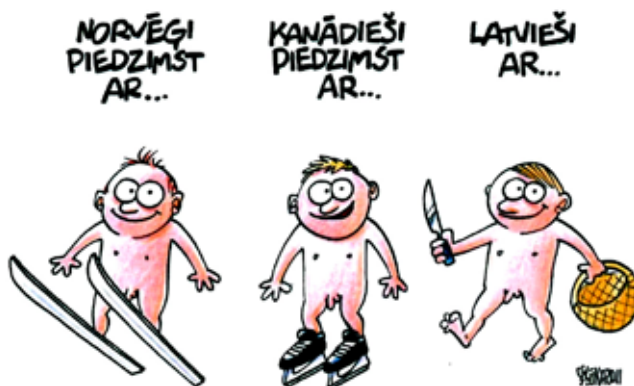
Figure 4. ... *are born with*.
Gatis Šļūka, 2011.

- Norwegians are born with...
- Canadians are born with...
- Latvians with...

Table 3. *Stylistic patterns of Figure 4 "are born with".*

Stylistic pattern	Verbal elements	Visual elements
metonymy	Norwegians are born with…	skis → skiing
metonymy	Canadians are born with…	skates → skating → ice hockey
metonymy	Latvians [are born] with…	a knife and a basket → gathering mushrooms

The successive cartoon (see Figure 5) is an **allusion** to the Latvian play for children *Sprīdītis[1]* (Tom Thumb) by Anna Brigadere (1903) and its film adaptation

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[1] Theoretically *Sprīdītis* can be translated as Tom Thumb, however, the English and Latvian folk tales are different. Tom Thumb is someone who can trick others and kill them because he is smart. The Latvian *Sprīdītis* does not kill his enemies, he is special for the kindness of his heart. His heart is said to be like a diamond. He is a romantic traveller who goes on an adventure to find happiness and ultimately returns home because home is the happy land.

(1985). Mother Fortune (*Laimes māte*) gives *Sprīdītis* a ring as a thank you gift for helping her. She tells him that in order to go to the happy land, he has to turn the ring and say, "Swan, swan, move your feet and take me to the happy land". Most people in the Latvian community are familiar with the character of *Sprīdītis* and the text of the play and film.

Figure 5. *Take me to the happy land.*
Gatis Šļūka, 2009.

- Take me to the happy land!
- Are you kidding me?

When *Sprīdītis* says that he wishes to go to the happy land, it means that the adventure is over, and he is going home; however, he does not know it yet. Conversely, the swan knows that the happy land is home. Since the year 2009 is marked by The Great Recession during which Latvia has suffered greatly, returning home is a glum prospect instead of a happy one.

Allusion should have a reference to something that can be recognised by the linguistic community; the familiar phenomenon should be important in the cognitive basis of this community; and it should start a dialogue between the creator and the audience on the basis of their specific associations [Veinberga 2015]. In this case the community, i.e., Latvians recognise the verbal expression "Take me to the happy land!" as the one associated with *Sprīdītis* and identify with the situation of the economic crisis.

The image of *Sprīdītis* is sustainable, and it stretches beyond one representation (see Figure 6). Despite the fact that *Sprīdītis* looks happy in this cartoon, the circumstances are not favourable for Latvia.

Figure 6. *Why do you choose to live and work abroad?*
Gatis Šļūka, 2014.

The newspaper *Latvijas Avīze* has conducted a questionnaire to find out the reasons of leaving Latvia. *Over the last ten years, some 220,000 Latvian residents have left to live abroad. Young people aged between 18 and 35 are most likely to leave Latvia for a better life. Nearly 11,000 Latvian young people aged 25 to 29 have gone abroad* [Marķitāne 2015]. The majority of these people have left Latvia because of The Great Recession.

The current representation yields a visual allusion to *Sprīdītis,* an eponym for someone who is unhappy at home therefore goes away in search of happiness. *Sprīdītis* can be recognised by his hat, shovel and *pastalas* (simple footwear made of one piece of leather); the three elements are metonymic. *Pastalas* also stand for a traveller, especially a Latvian traveller; thus the image of *Sprīdītis* can be viewed as personification. The suitcase is a metonymy for travelling and the stickers on the suitcase represent all the countries the traveller has visited: Sweden, Norway, Germany, Ireland, France, the United Kingdom and the United States. All the stickers are metonymies that stand for the countries.

The last illustration features an event that is great source of pride in the Latvian culture. The year 2018 was very significant for Latvia not only because of its centenary but also because of the Song and Dance Celebration. *The Song and Dance Celebration is the greatest cultural masterpiece of the Latvian people, and has withstood the test of time. The Celebration has become an event of national and international importance,*

bringing together people of different generations and nationalities, and uniting Latvians throughout the world [The Song and Dance Celebration 2018]. It is a very noble event, however, the cartoon is incongruous as it might prove difficult for men to sing peacefully with the ongoing football championship (see Figure 7).

Sit, Jānīti, vara bungas is a line from a Latvian folk song for summer solstice, it means "beat the brass drums" although the word *sit* is polysemantic, and it can be applied when discussing various objects. *Sit* can mean "hit", i.e., score in sports.

Figure 7. *Sit, Jānīti, vara bungas...*
Gatis Šļūka, 2018.

Jā means "yes". *Sit, Jānīti* and *Sit! Jā!* is a pun based on homophones, the words that sound similar. People say *Sit! Jā!* when some is about to score a goal. This expression sounds exactly the same as the beginning of *Sit, Jānīti*, thus it is a foregrounded lexical ambiguity or pun.

Conclusion

The most frequent stylistic pattern that is present in almost every analysed cartoon is metonymy: there are 22 different metonymic elements[1] in the analysed cartoons. Metonymy plays a leading role in visual representations of powerful images

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[1] Seven cartoons have been analysed in this article, however, there are a number of metonymic elements in every cartoon. For example, in "Figure 6. *Why do you choose to live and work abroad?*" there are 11 metonymic elements: *Sprīdītis's* hat, shovel, *pastalas* and suitcase, and the stickers of seven countries on the suitcase.

depicting Latvia and Latvians in Gatis Šļūka's cartoons. The next most frequent stylistic pattern is personification: five cases; and there are two cases of allusions and two cases of puns.

In five out of seven examined cartoons there is more than one stylistic technique present demonstrating the interaction of different stylistic patterns, most often that of metonymy and personification, thus leading to a conclusion that interaction appears to be a natural phenomenon in visual representations of cartoons. Although the amount of studied cartoons is not vast, they have been carefully chosen and are representative of a larger quantity of both political and non-political cartoons in general.

The analysed cartoons mostly deride troubles and wrongdoings in various spheres of life. If the cartoon is studied later than it has been created, it is essential to identify the historical and social context of its creation in order to understand its aim.

Gatis Šļūka's cartoons are striking and benevolent at the same time; they prove that contrary to the stereotype Latvians do not find it hard to laugh about themselves. Cartoons are published almost every day, and they are loved by the Latvian people as a daily measure of humour.

The cartoonists naturally aim at a general audience, thus they employ the techniques that are generally recognisable and understandable. The extensive use of stylistic patterns suggests that our Latvian thinking is inherently figurative.

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LATVIAN ARTISTIC FIELD FROM THE ARTISTS' VIEWPOINT

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Abstract

The autonomy of artistic field is expressed in the degree to which the artist obeys the laws of action and changes in the field of power and social space. The work of a painter can be directly influenced by other actors in the artistic field, therefore, the opinion of other painters is analysed and compared to their own position in the art space.

The purpose of this article is to determine the viewpoint from which a painter sees the Latvian artistic field and himself/herself therein. The study is based on 28 author's interviews with Latvian painters. The article considers whether painters regard the artistic field as separated from the social space and whether they feel themselves and their colleagues as equal players.

The research indicates that the autonomy of the artistic field is not possible. Painters are equal players with other actors in the artistic field.

Keywords: *artistic field, painters*.

The sociology of art is closely related to the classical theories of sociology. Society also influences an individual's aesthetic choice or 'tastes' (J. Habermas, P. Bourdieu, M. Lamont, V. Zolberg). When sociologists talk about social structure, they refer to social models, rules, and resources such as E. Giddens. Sociologists, using various techniques, describe the types of social interaction, social roles and positions, social identity, inequality and distribution of resources, institutions and norms through which social activity is structured. Sociologists of art use concepts developed by sociologists to address issues such as why art becomes a separate category of cultural production in Western society.

The sociological perception of art is not just a neutral analysis in terms of the subject. The author uses the artistic field model proposed by P. Bourdieu [Bourdieu 1996], which has many similarities to H. Becker's idea of the art world [Becker 1984]. Both H. Becker and P. Bourdieu believe that the aesthetic belonging of convention

and ideology to the art world is shaped by their members, and the existing ideologies make the art and the art world possible. P. Bourdieu highlights the relationship between power and the fact that ideas in the artistic field are socially constructed. Each field (religion, art, science, economics, etc.), using certain regulation and depiction of its activities, offers the agents a legitimate form in terms of how to fulfil their intentions that are justified in a certain *illusio* form [Bourdieu 1996, 228]. The field of art itself is not an autonomous one, therefore French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu places it in the power field. Artists' discourses exist, because art must exist "for art's sake", and not to be driven by any economic reasons. Otherwise, it should not be considered as art. P. Bourdieu explains models of artists' behaviour and their exposition in society (for example, double-dealing with society and representatives of power) through the power field, where the artistic field is in a dominating position. The power field is the relationship space between the agents or institutions with sufficient capital to take a dominating position in various fields (especially political and cultural fields). This means a struggle between managers of various powers to support the transformation or freezing of the relative value of capital [Bourdieu 1996]. The principles of the external hierarchy, which determine the dominating temporary positions in the power (i.e., they are affected by temporary criteria of fortune: commercial success, "bad" reputation, publications, etc.) put artists in the public eye. On the other hand, principles of internal hierarchy exist when artists receive the recognition of their colleagues and gain positions in the artistic field, simultaneously ignoring the mood of society or demand. The autonomy of the artistic field is influenced by the extent and subordination of the principles of the external hierarchy to the principles of the internal hierarchy. The higher the degree of artistic field autonomy, the more symbolic relations there are among participants who are independent from economic demand and the power field. The autonomy of artistic field is expressed in the degree to which the artist obeys the laws of action and changes in the field of power and social space. The painter's work is directly affected by other participants of the artistic field.

Both inside and outside the artistic field, there is a belief that the artist is unique and talented, but the work of art is merely a product of individual inspiration. Sociologists, on the contrary, believe that the works of art are the products of certain historical, social and cultural events. Without denying that artists often have special qualities – perception, intellect and talent –, the sociologists point out that artists' talent and work are formed in historical processes and institutions. Thanks to these processes and institutions, the work of art is significant in society.

Therefore, it is important to find out the opinion of the artists themselves. The selection of painters to be interviewed consists of representatives of various age and painting techniques, and the unique opinions of each person were respected.

All interviewed artists are professionals who have acquired higher education in art and whose core artistic activity is painting. All 28 interviews were conducted by the author on year 2010. Transcriptions were done by preserving the way the interviewed person spoke, and ignoring pauses and repeating of words. It was assumed that painters' interviews could be analysed using methods that do not focus on the language and its use (such as linguistic analysis, discourse analysis or narrative analysis), but methods that focus instead on meaning. Obtained data were coded and used retaining confidentiality. The position of artists in the artistic field was examined in order to specify their participation in social space. For this purpose, P. Bourdieu's relational method was applied. P. Bourdieu's relational method was described and interpreted through various sociologist perception (M. Grenfell, J. D. Wacquant, N. Heinich). P. Bourdieu identifies the social life not through the substance, but through the mutual relations influenced by objective and subjective factors, which are invisible because they are overshadowed by mundane experiences and actions.

From the point of view of sociology, the artists are never "outside" society, even when they form different subcultures or identify themselves as separate from society [Rothenberg 2014]. P. Bourdieu emphasizes the power relations and how the ideas in the art world are socially constructed.

Artistic field as a part of the power field

An artist's social trajectory is a series of positions taken by the painter or group of painters in the artistic field and social space. Since the position in a balanced situation in space affects the process of taking a position, then analysing opinions of several painters in the same period of history may identify overall tendencies in the artistic field and social space. Bourdieu notes that, in order to understand and explain the interaction between people and events, it is not sufficient to assess what has been said or what has happened, while it is significant to assess the social space of the interaction. Analysis of the social space means not only placing the object in a certain historical context, but also studying the process of how knowledge on the object was formed and the way interest has determined the emergence of this knowledge. In the part of the artistic field with a low degree of autonomy, a painter is exposed to stable market relations, where the involved participants have a good command of the existing demand, without looking for new ways of expression, but following the known orders to achieve commercial success instead. According to Bourdieu, the interest of artists in mutual cooperation in the field of art promotes the development of new artistic movements in the field of cultural production and social space. The confluence of power and art can be identified not only under conditions of strict censorship and repression, but in separate cases also in a democratic system.

It is easier to identify the position of those painters who are active in the artistic field of mass production, but who do not have the symbolic capital to affect the direction of the art environment, than to understand the not always consequent position of those painters who have symbolic capital at their disposal. It should be noted that a state-supported conjuncture is clearly visible, while the rules dictated by the market frequently fuse with the wishes of society at a particular time. The characterisation of painters' vision to affect social processes in the field of power may be divided into three categories: "Inability to affect", "Artist as a personality" and "Influence through art".

Many painters are sure of their inability to affect social processes, either with their work or civic activity. Such answers can be found in all age groups regardless of the position in the artistic field.

> *"They are not able to affect, and this has been proven by history, for example, in the medieval age"* (No. 10);[1] *"Nothing can be affected by creative work. If I was sitting in the Saeima or Riga City Council as a member of Parliament or the Council, maybe I would be able to affect something"* (No. 26); *"They cannot affect big processes. Only on a larger scale. Theatre, literature and cinema may make somebody think about something for a while, however, they cannot affect big processes"* (No. 13); *"Is it required? An artist is a man who frequently has a conditional link with the real world"* (No. 7); *"No. An artist can supplement something, make something more beautiful or uglier, but not affect, since there are different rules of the game"* (No. 20).

Some respondents assume that the artist as a personality can create good quality changes in society. The function of art is the introduction of genuine, spirit-raising works into the cultural field, developing the human world of feelings and opening new development opportunities. Answers contain protest against pop-culture.

> *"Real art must be able to change something inside a human, to create good quality changes in the spiritual world. This is a thankless job"* (No. 18); *"Consumer society with so many temptations of pseudo-culture. Dan Brown's works will be read instead of real literature, and pop music has largely drowned in the basement what, in my opinion, is the only real music. Art has little opportunity to affect something – it is not a weapon of propaganda. At some point, it touches the string of a human soul, inspires, opens some horizons or develops subconsciousness. Man lives with dreams and fantasies – he feels support and emotional experience through art,*

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[1] Hereinafter the figure in brackets will denote a code assigned to an interview. See Appendices.

literature and music. Art is not able to deliver anything better than emotions and aesthetic satisfaction. Artworks do not need to be made just beautiful, they must contain some sort of accomplishment, there must be a 'missile', which makes change in one's mind" (No. 24).

It should be noted that percept of painters of the older generation regarding the personality's leading role in the social space relates to acquired cultural capital and purpose to serve for social interests, including promotion of the national awareness.

"It is the artist's task to go deep into his/her speciality, improve himself/herself by maximally improving skills and soul, since the importance of the artist's contribution to society also depends on his/her human size. Thus, the more an artist works with and thinks of himself/herself, the more valuable he/she will be for others" (No. 25); *"Do not pollute the world with bad works, at least within the boundaries of self-made quality criteria. Nobody is protected from unrecognised mistakes the person is not aware of. Try to comply with the code of professional ethics every time you touch the higher levels"* (No. 14); *"One must want to be an artist and understand what it means: crafting skills plus attitude towards everything that goes on in your land. An ability to apply artificial means of expression is required"* (No. 5).

Those painters who consider that the core task of art is to influence (including entertainment) society through increased positive emotions, characterise painting as a symbol of art or explain it with the unlimited possibilities of the means of expression thereof. The artist is perceived through the prism of professionalism, treating special education as such. An assessment of professionalism among colleagues is related to the rules of internal hierarchy of the artistic field, made by relative confirmation, support and recognition of other artists (at least at the beginning of activity) [Bourdieu 1996]. Painters without relevant education are not treated as equal players, and there is the opinion that their job is not to be related to the artistic field. The symbolic capital of competing agents is emphasized, dominated by the artist's individual responsibility and ability to continuously educate and enhance his or her skills. It is about the professional code of ethics.

""Everybody" is not an artist, he has access to the transcendental, and he must be able to generalize it to bring it to others and find connections. Furthermore, it must take place masterfully in the technique used by the artist, and, where there are both of these components, there is a great artist. Believing that everyone is an artist neglects the need for virtuosity and, at times, the need for knowledge. Art is frequently involved in reflection regarding the processes of science, discoveries, effects, and social matters. I believe that first of all art has to provide emotional and mental emotional experience – that is the function. Art is not for entertainment

or decorating a wall. The rest is entertainment industry or science at the level of amateurs, or craft at a high level. Beautified, but 'blank' painting – I would equal it to craft" (No. 18); *"There are people who take it as their destiny and follow this path. An artist has talent and fatality in this direction, he/she does his/her job regardless of its ease or difficulty"* (No. 12).

An artist has to hold his/her hand on the pulse of life all the time, even to be amazed. Therefore, craft, knowledge about painting and the history thereof are important for the painter to make himself/herself a general person of culture, who would have identified the highest achievements in his/her speciality. A young person, who wants to become an artist, must become a personality. Only a personality is able to supplement his/her contribution to what has been created.

Artistic field

The autonomy of artistic field is expressed in the degree to which the artist obeys the laws of action and changes in the field of power and social space. The actions of a painter may also be directly affected by other participants of the artistic field. When characterising the artistic field in Latvia, painters pay more attention to the events in the area of art and mention activity of art institutions and cooperation among them to a lesser extent. The characterisation of a painters' artistic field may be divided into three categories: "Open and progressive", "Inert and closed" and "Variable and influential".

The "Open and progressive" category reflects painters' appreciation of the art scene, where one can choose between different art events, different trends in painting, and depends on the interest and desire to creatively explore individual fields of activity and create unique artistic handwriting.

> *"Traditionally, art in Latvia has wide distribution and popularity. The type of activity of each artist is individual. Sometimes there is a wish to find persons with the same views, sometimes there are none. Everyone must develop his/her art, style. [..] Probably the art environment is rather active, however, I am not always satisfied with the directions of development. [..] How to support this diversity?"* (No. 5); *"[..] sufficiently varied and interesting. There is also a sufficient number of events. Events are with a good number of visitors"* (No. 25).

The quality of the art processes and the large number of solo exhibitions by the artists were positively evaluated. The professional activity of painters was accentuated.

> *"Exhibitions are also being organised. Sometimes I am surprised that the organisation of exhibitions has not been interrupted in this situation, and that*

exhibitions take place one by one, exhibition halls are engaged. [..] *It points to the mentality of the artists"* (No. 15); *"I guess, everything is fine there, since it is approximately the same as everywhere and – the way it should be.* [..] *There are many artists. Furthermore, there are also many movements. The level is good. Many artists are talented, there are also some second-raters, but they are basically everywhere"* (No. 1).

In the category "Inert and closed", painters point to provincialism in art and its perception. The work of the painters takes place in closed and individual environment, it would be desirable to activate the most up-to-date art processes and promote the appearance of significant events in the Latvian art life.

"If consumers of art are also to be included in the art environment, these people are mostly poorly informed on the contexts of global art processes. From this the rest also follows. However, it does not take a snob towards society as a lover of art, artists also used to be lazy to explore and analyse events taking place elsewhere" (No. 14); *"It seems it is starting to come back to life in the recent years, but alienation from global processes can also be observed.* [..] *Not many exhibitions of foreign artists have taken place in Riga. The self-sufficiency factor can be felt a little. It is important to see various things in the area of art, to be aware of everything that is going on in the world, instead of reinventing the wheel every time"* (No. 23); *"Art life? Unfortunately, lagging behind and provincial"* (No. 7).

Compared to art events in other countries, painters highlight the independence of Latvian exhibitions from a wider context and criticize the lack of information on developments in the world.

"In my opinion, narrowed and not interesting. There are gallery exhibitions. There are museum exhibitions. There are several laboratories. Overall – very broad and varied. E-mail is full of activities around. [..] *It is a different story that nothing original and of very good quality takes place. Our scene is varied, for Europe it is next to nothing"* (No. 10).

Artists wish to see art environment around them, which creates convenient working conditions and provides development opportunities, however, at the same time, readiness to take the initiative and change current positions and distribution of roles in the artistic field is rare. According to Bourdieu, interaction between position and layout system in the field is directly inversed. Every *habitus* as a layout system may be implemented effectively from socially marked positions. Just the opposite, through the layout, which may be more or less regulated by specific positions, belonging to one or other position may be potentially mendaciously registered

[Bourdieu 1996]. Thus, the position taken in view of the equity capital of the artist not always determines the artist's layout in the artistic field. It is directly affected by the artist's *habitus* and skills in using his/her resources, as well as their ability of interaction with other players in the artistic field. This is also confirmed by the painters' assessment of art life in Latvia, which is comparatively closed environment. It shows separate events, and not the overall picture.

> *"Huge resources are lost in this environment – due to lack of work organisation. [..] For example, in Latvia, events are frequently described post factum, while the global trend is to stir up viewers' interest and write about upcoming events"* (No. 6); *"This environment is very close and small, if we talk about the high art as we would want to see it, because we cannot refer to these 4000 artists as our artistic field – frequently, they are for family traditions and not internal need"* (No. 20).

While artists are critical, when it comes to the artistic field, saying that most painters are not interested in development, leaving cooperation with art institutions adrift, criticism is not stressed in the assessment of art processes. This leads to the conclusion that the painters are less demanding in relation to the activities they participate in. The problems are related to the organisation of the art environment and weak interaction between painters and the national art institutions, which, in their turn, lack a clear future vision. There are indications on the importance of competition and professionalism in the work of curators and galleries appear.

> *"Exhibitions are good, but there is a problem with the management, the personnel that works with the exhibitions. [..] It should be considered how to organise time for an exhibition, how to sell better. Frequently, very interesting things are missed due to various political or other reasons"* (No. 6); *"These 'real ones', who are, yes, very professional and with a great interest. However, there is excessive competition between artists, critics, and organisers, which actually only stops the dynamics in Latvian art. There is competition not only between artists, but also between galleries, curators and critics. Sometimes competition can help, however, such a small country like ours should stick together more, since the final goal is the same for everybody: to cross the borders of Latvia, since, in Latvia, when a specific high level has been reached, everything remains in this field. This may be done at the professional level only, which means joint recognition of talents and joint support thereof"* (No. 19).

Due to the lack of a full retrospective painting exposition, where the overall picture of Latvian art could be seen, young painters may not assess colleagues and cooperate mutually. Painters work in closed and chaotic environment.

"We have a sufficient number of exhibitions. Galleries uninterruptedly hold personal exhibitions of various artists. [..] It seems that a couple of generations of artists calmly get older, while young people hardly know them. One could wish for more in this regard" (No. 25); *"I can think of personal exhibitions of artists, I would say that activity in the field of exhibitions is high, while number of joint exhibitions, where one could mutually compare works of the artists, is lower than earlier"* (No. 5).

Assessment of art processes given by painters confirms that the artistic field is relatively stagnating. The dissatisfaction of painters with the organisation of art processes and lack of mutual interest has been indicated.

"This environment is very nervous and chaotic. It is paradoxical that the Latvian artists with the highest global achievements do not participate in this environment at all – to avoid wasting energy" (No. 6).

"Changing and vulnerable" artistic field. The art environment in Latvia is characterised as changing, as one that forms and adapts themselves to the social environment. Although a painter should be free in his/her activity, the artistic field should not be separated from the common social space, and the lack of national goals has been specified in this context. The role of national art institutions would be to support separate artistic movements and assign value to the artworks.

"Overall, the art environment is total chaos. Each person acts for himself/ herself. There is a huge number of artists, and the environment is mixed – as is obvious in the galleries. Separate artists' cliques appear. One in the academy, one in the Artists' Union of Latvia, one in the State Culture Capital Foundation (SCCF), additionally, also applied arts – art craft, design. Although, there is no design without manufacture. There are no purchasers, either. The State wastes money again and 'creates' designers who are not needed" (No. 8).

When creating notions of the activity of artists and positioning in the artistic field, attention should be drawn to the artist's *habitus*. Artists mutually compete and leave specific positions, taking into account two significant structures – objective structure (field, internal rules thereof, institutions), which enable taking a position and the integrating structure (*habitus*, which disposes a person to integrate in the field). The integrating structure includes the artist's overall social position. This is the capital at the artist's disposal, in good knowledge of rules of the game. The larger the capital is, the better the opportunities to compete in taking a more powerful position in the artistic field [Bourdieu 2002]. The possibilities for painters to affect processes nationwide depend on the taken position. It's up to them to create socially active art or separate from social problems.

Painters in the artistic field

When determining a painter's position in the artistic field, the characteristics of the activity of his/her peers should be taken into account. Characterizations of painters for their colleagues may be divided into the following categories: "Contrast 'us and them'", "Market participants", "Vivid personalities".

In the category "Contrast 'us and them'", the disposition of painters in the artistic field shows the dominating position of a subjective vision, when a group of one's own people is separated by unequivocal division. It is interesting that the position "we" is always related to self-positioning in a limited field of production, while the position "they", although also permitted in a limited field of production, is placed in the field of wide production. The collision of boundaries of the field of wide production and limited field of production may be marked. Depending on the positioning of painters in the artistic field, answers may be both positive and negative. Painters with symbolic and economic capital are positive in relation to less successful colleagues.

> *"There is art and there is mediocre art. There are tops, personalities, and there is forest. But this forest is necessary. All this diversity, richness – I like to draw from all that. [..] I do not want to deny this. For example, in Edith Wigner's exhibition, some consequential people say: "There is kitsch". Or Tabaka Maija – kitsch"* (No. 21).

Some answers contain turning against the painters who are in the power field and who have economic capital. This enables placing them in the positions of idealism as a contrast to an artist with material wishes.

> *"Artists are divided into at least two parts. Part of them, who are maybe naive and in the midst of their calling. They create under any circumstances. The other group, which is considered the contemporary ones, this could be put in quotation marks, who do a prepaid job, at a minimum, with paid materials"* (No. 11).

Mutual assessments of the youngest painters show differences which have originated in the course of historical events. Artists of various generations are looking for opportunities to stabilise their economic situation.

> *"I guess they have disorientated themselves in time and space, and in political events. One part of them is searching for identity, because earlier they were soviet artists, others want to jump into the European and global market"* (No. 6); *"There is no uniform image of a Latvian artist, there are big differences – various generations, various ways of thinking. [..] Many of them have been affected by the changes of time"* (No. 23).

Painters see the greatest contrasts in different principles of creative works.

> *"This is not possible – they are so different. Artists is such a category which may not be characterised as something common – they are too different. I cannot name anything common"* (No. 18); *"Actually – that is a dreadful 'nation'. They could be divided into several groups of interests, since I guess that artists get on better within the framework of one manner of painting. I think it is hard to accept the style of another person. An artist is generally an egoist with the right to consider that he/ she is the best, to recognise a few classics, who have been maybe his/her sources of inspiration, while the rest may just be accepted as artists keeping his/her thoughts to himself/herself. Such an attitude is very typical for Latvians. In my opinion, this is very Latvian"* (No. 15).

Answers frequently contain reference to the importance of education in a painter's creative work, as well as to the large number of professional artists in Latvia. Fragmentation of the artists' environment and mutual isolation can be observed. An artist sees himself/herself as a loner. A contrast between generations can also be observed, which is explained by art tasks of various different ages or the inability of separate artists to adapt to more modern movements. Painters, whose artistic task is based on searching their personalities, strictly separate themselves and "their people" from the remaining artists or position themselves as a different phenomenon which does not belong to any group, which corresponds to the finding of Bourdieu that "[..] the value of each artist is determined in an analogous game of considered judgments supported by one to another: great knowledge of the game (whose laws are intended only for those, who have been excluded – and just because of this reason), in how to treat critics, traders, and other painters, what they need to be told, who should be met, who should be avoided, what places (especially, what exhibitions) should be attended, but which should be avoided, which more and more narrow groups should be joined – these circumstances form part of the conditions which are the most ideal for the accumulation of the entrusted value, which makes a human remarkable" [Bourdieu 2004].

> *"There are many artists in Latvia. Many of them are professionally well-prepared. This arises from the sufficient number of art schools and children's art schools, which prepare for the higher educational institutions. Currently, there is a risk of ruining this system, thus losing quality in the future"* (No. 25); *"They are united only by their involvement in art. However, this environment is very fragmented. We have approximately 4000 artists, if we assume that the academy graduates approximately 100 every year. [..] The number of those, who are involved in studying their social environment, are a handful, maybe 10, the rest are working*

in the artistic field only. How many thinking artists do we have in Latvia? And people?" (No. 20).

The inability of Latvian painters to work in teams impedes the solution of many creative problems. Painters want to unite in groups, however, if they succeed in doing this, the groups are made of small, mutually enclosed clusters, which continue fragmentation of the art environment.

> *"Artists are loners who have to fight for themselves. Currently there are circumstances in which an artist must paint works, organise an exhibition, invite an audience, including art historians, who write about him/her – all these problems must be solved by themselves. [..] If artists unite in groups, they have stronger power and greater opportunities"* (No. 9); *"The inability to agree and work in teams, fear from public discussion on art processes – all that is typical for artists. The majority of artists do not even talk to each other, they would rather exclude the other artist from their circle for unpleasant criticism"* (No. 6).

Inclusion of Latvia in the status of a small country and the opinion that spirit of provincialism amplifies in Latvia, thus impeding integration into the global art environment, leads to the wish of the painters to expand their space of activity and integrate in a broader context.

> *"They are not different from artists anywhere else in the world. [..] The only difference is knowledge in the local language, as well as geographical location and political situation"* (No. 3); *"Large nations do not need small nations, therefore, we cannot expect to be wanted. Globally the most recognisable artists are those who come from large nations, for example, Gustavs Klucis also gained recognisability as a Russian artist"* (No. 12); *"Artists tend to be too lazy to find out what is going on elsewhere"* (No. 14); *"Provincially. The majority, not all, of course. But this is the common fault of Latvia, it does not apply to artists only"* (No. 7); *"The self-sufficiency factor can be felt a little. It is important to see many various things in the area of art, to be aware of everything that is going on in the world, instead of reinventing the wheel every time"* (No. 23).

The majority of painters have an idealistic mood, and they relate to their profession with high goals. "Art is an openness, where a human must be" [Heidegger 1998]. "Art is one of the basic needs of a human, which helps to unite society" [Tolstoy 1997]. Code "Market participants" shows a separation of painters from some colleagues, who oblige market demands.

> *"To orientate to a private buyer means a harder situation than in the soviet era. Taste and criteria of society decline. National importance of an artist also*

declines, since the large joint exhibitions have disappeared, the participation in which was a matter of prestige and where each painter was able to find his place in the current level. Attention from the media and criticism was expected. There is just a weak reflection of historically popular Days of Art and Autumn exhibitions. I do not understand the "institute of curators", exhibitions frequently end up in not too competent hands" (No. 5); *"Typical commercialisation can be observed among artists"* (No. 27); *"The goals of investment of money are frequently temporary, and they are related to politics and fashion. There is nothing bad, but it reminds of the same colour in clothing or design"* (No. 11).

Artists tend to position themselves as being free from the influence of the social space and power field, meanwhile characterising their colleagues as exposed to market conditions. Following the conditions of the art market equals artistic activity to craft, which does not necessarily mean good quality art. According to Bourdieu, the tendency to position oneself in risky positions, the ability and capacity to hold such positions without gaining short-term economic benefit mostly depends on manageable economic and symbolic capital [Bourdieu 1993]. This is why economic capital provides the circumstances in which survival is not the primary condition. Personal income becomes the best replacement for the sale of artwork.

"About the time of independence. At the first moment we, painters, thought – now we are going to work for our country, pay all our taxes, which will be at the disposal of our nation, etc. As time went by, we found that taxes and the attitude of the state towards art were not for the benefit of creative work. An absolute inability of public clerks to see the difference between professional art and amateurs. Lack of cultural policy. There is no common cultural policy, and the state does not assign funds for the expansion of museum funds. The painters are forced to orient themselves to private buyers. Regular work and the ability to purchase materials for painting requires a regular income" (No. 5).

Answers in "Vivid personalities" provide a positive assessment of the common art scene environment and professional skills of colleagues. The current status of painters is characterised by Ivars Heinrihsons, Professor of the Art Academy and painter, in interview by Vilnis Vējš: "Once, painting was very elitist. Now, painting is one of the sectors. The priority is a person with ideas. Furthermore, socially active and ready for various projects. Without these, no support is available. This is the factor which has supplemented the tradition."

"I have worked in the Art Academy, and I can say that Latvians are very talented in the arts, and we have a dense culture-capable layer" (No. 12); *"Very, very well. Very professional, and many talented, too"* (No. 2).

Answers highlight the professionalism of Latvian painters and set against painters from other countries. Artists aged above 50, who have prizes and awards in Latvia and abroad, associate the history of Latvian art with vivid personalities in the artistic field at the beginning of the 20th century. The named artists were mentioned as impulse for the development of national art and as evidence for the abilities of the painter to interpret and distribute elements of national identity to society.

> *"Very high! Latvians have one wonderful quality* [..]. *Latvians as a nation are artificially talented in both the sense of shape, colour and style, thus they extremely splendidly act towards any direction, no matter whether it is baroque or art nouveau, or the twenties to thirties (Grosvalds, Tone, Kazaks, early Ubāns). They did it splendidly, and more beautifully in terms of colours. And this will continue to nowadays"* (No. 12); *"Growing the young generation of painters also develops towards the direction of easier training. Many professional skills are no longer taught. Foreign methods are not good for us, and it seems unlikely that it is so easy to abandon everything that we have managed to preserve during the soviet era. How did we differ? By the understanding of the specific character of painting. If once we were recognised on a global scale, then for this. These notions coming from Europe and America are not good for us today, we should preserve and develop a strict professional school and sense of painting. Also, the decisive auction houses and factors determining painting fashion – how much does it apply to us? We should remember that we are a nation of weavers and painters"* (No. 5).

Painters are not independent, their activity is affected by the economic and social space, they are related to the collective string of structures, processes and institutions, from the first materialisation of an idea of art work up to the moment when the work is exposed to public [Bourdieu 1993]. If there is lack of materials – paint, canvas, frames – a painting cannot be created; it cannot be exhibited and analysed without the interest of curators, designers, heads of galleries and critics, which, in turn, impedes the sale of the painting. The painter's position in the artistic field is revealed, determining the activities that are offered by the respective situation. Pursuant to P. Bourdieu, *habitus* is not only a connection between the past, present and future, but also a connection between the objective and subjective, structure and agent. Individuality and difference from the rest are expressed – they can be determined in a socially particular way. The personal style is a direction accepted by the particular period.

Consumer of artwork

When assessing participants of the artistic field, painters accentuate the role of viewers in the process of creative work. Feedback between the artist and viewer, the viewer's understanding of art and meaning of assessment has been included in

Bourdieu's idea that the decisive person of value of an artwork is not the artist himself/ herself, but the artistic field in the field of cultural products, which maintains the value of artwork as fetish, distributing ideas of the artist's creative spirit [Bourdieu 1996]. Although art exhibitions have always been well attended in Latvia, answers given by the painters show that they are not relating to their viewer, and mutual feedback is minimal.

> *"I cannot get through to my viewers. [..] There is lack of discussion and exchange of opinions on art. There are no really professional discussions after the exhibitions, even among colleagues"* (No. 14); *"Usually I do not see them. I see those people who attend the opening of the exhibition – friends and relatives"* (No. 2); *"People are very different, it depends on the place. Friends – they definitely attend my exhibitions. I am glad if some of them like it, but anyone can attend – social group does not matter"* (No. 22); *"These are anonymous people, I don't know them. [..] But I always want to hear from acquaintances who express their opinions about my works, something more than just "like" or "dislike", something characterising, some kind of aspect which is perceived by the viewer, which I have formulated for myself or even thought about that – this is the most interesting thing"* (No. 16).

Painters want to see visitors of exhibitions as professionally prepared in art, intelligent, with positive attitude and good taste. These criteria are most frequently represented by colleagues. The opportunity to view paintings intuitively without prior art education is highlighted.

> *"Sometimes there have been very pleasant surprises from the viewers. [..] These are people with good taste – that is what we all would like to think"* (No. 17); *"There are very different people – intelligent, positive"* (No. 6); *"Visitors are different. When working with students and taking them to the museum, I noticed that on the days when there was free admission for pensioners and schoolchildren in the museum, the most interesting and real audience came. My exhibitions are mostly attended by friends and colleagues – painters, interested persons and former students. I have noticed that viewers have a positive attitude towards my works even if they are not able to perceive painting qualities and follow the literary ones. I like the people who know what they are coming to see"* (No. 5).

Being aware of the actual complicacy of perceiving of painting, professional artists hope for at least a partially understanding audience, which strives for the understanding of art.

> *"This person is someone, who has seen something from the art. Not totally from a side, but with a certain notion about painting. Someone who watches and assesses*

what is good and what is bad. This is not a person totally unrelated to art, because such people usually think that there is something scribbled there. [..] I've seen this abroad, that people come closer to study, and even other artists, and I like that. They come closer to study how this has been made" (No. 1); *"With the exception of people really interested in my paintings, visitors of exhibitions may be searching and growing, maybe not yet understanding their reason for attendance, but they become more understanding every time they come. There may be a part of society which comes because they consider themselves as consumers of culture. They also have hope to someday understand the pleasures of painting"* (No. 25).

Painters of all generations admit that it is important for an artist to feel needed. The attitude of viewers reflexively affects creative work. A painter without symbolic capital puts a greater accent on this.

"[..] there is someone needed, who demands and expects. Without this feeling, it is hard to do something. It takes strong motivation to work regardless of anything" (No. 16); *"I am grateful to my viewers who have shown me great favour and lots of love. One of my basic tasks – I want to paint joy. I assume that this is the reason people like my paintings"* (No. 12).

Sometimes painters idealize the viewer – just the opposite – consider him/her an accidental passer. An artist does not expect an assessment of work from art lovers and accidental viewers, but trusts the references of colleagues and specialists instead.

"This definitely differs from reality. This is what has been imagined or concluded, or even idealized... I don't know. I could tell more about those people I have talked with, from whom I have heard good replies or something like that. Usually, they have been overjoyed people with their internal energy, able to perceive some vibrations. People who are able to perceive the environment emotionally. Circles of various people, but the main thing is – art may be perceived by anyone, but the person who wants it, I don't know, – this person does not reach everything. But the person who notices – I always feel that this person always continues to maintain this link in some way" (No. 3); *"Accidental foreigner or professional. Art lover, not necessarily a buyer"* (No. 11); *"These are other artists, also people, who are looking for something, travellers in time and space"* (No. 23).

Most frequently painters contact viewers of their own generation. These are fellow-students, friends, this is the life experience in common. However, the author does not represent the interests of just one age group. There are situations when representatives of other generations are admirers or deniers of the artist.

"Accidental arrivals, artists, admirers and purchasers between 35–45 who do not advertise themselves" (No. 10); *"Viewers – they are aged between 30–50 years, maybe younger, well educated, both male and female, vital and open people. Their material situation is not that significant"* (No. 20); *"I have had reference books in my exhibitions, and a rather great part of the entries were made by people of the older generation, the generation of my parents. [..] This is the broadest circle. There are also my contemporaries and a large number of young people. The least part is formed by people aged 50–60. This generation is represented only by people who are related to the art. This is the generation which currently holds the reins of power and is responsible for what is going on here, to some extent. A rather opaque generation, I guess"* (No. 18).

The painters' belief in painting as the most comprehensive form of art provides guarantee about their capacity to interpret and disseminate the values of national identity. The artists classify their impact onto society as provision of knowledge, through which the categories of thinking can be transformed.

Conclusions

Latvian painters are sure that visual art is relatively autonomous from external influence (from politics, ideology, economics, administrative control). In the visual "artistic field", where various actors interact and compete, painters with their specific *habitus* and dispositions, and the idea that art resources are unlimited to implement one's ideas regardless of external influence. The painters' answers show that they are related to the social space and power field. Painters are equal players with other actors. However, at the same time, they want to see them as an independent player in the social space.

A painter's social identity and symbolic capital determines the possible movements of his/her activity. A painter's position in the artistic field is identified by determining the activities offered by the particular situation. A painter's *habitus* unites society and the individual, since every life can be unique in a particular context. However, at the same time, it is joined with other lives in the same structure. Personal style is no more than a movement accepted by the particular period. Frequently, the artistic, not the social value, is more valuable for the artists. It arises from the painting specifics that in cases when the painter starts to ingratiate with a specific audience, the presence of art is jeopardised. If a painting exists as far as it is perceived, it is clear that the satisfaction associated with its deciphering is only available to those who are inclined to receive it because they attach value to it.

The answers indicate that the autonomy of the artistic field is not possible. The artistic field is directly related to the power field. The symbolic capital of national

art institutions is significantly important, since the symbolic power is acquired by following internal field rules, which is the opposite to all heteronomous powers which artists and other holders of culture capital may attempt to assign to themselves as lookalikes for technical or symbolic services, offered by them as dominating, especially by distributing the current symbolic order. The mutual competition and disagreements between painters, which impedes artistic development, has been stressed in interviews. Latvian art is comparatively isolated and international recognition is important for painters, but it may be acquired by occasional work visits abroad. Separation from the Latvian artistic field means that the internal mechanisms of activity are thereof not able to provide the participants with the necessary resources. Activity models which would comply with all the requirements of artists have not been created in Latvia. Working in a space which is not related to the artistic field of the particular nation is a signal that warns of transformation of notions. This is a testimony to a strengthening of new identity in society.

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Appendices

1 – man, 53 years old, painter, is not pedagogue, regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS+;

2 – woman, 40 years old, painter, pedagogue, has no regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS+;

3 – man, 41 years old, painter, is not pedagogue, regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS−;

4 – man, 66 years old, painter, pedagogue, has no regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS+;

5 – man, 74 years old, painter, pedagogue, regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS+;

6 – man, 34 years old, painter, pedagogue, regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS+;

7 – woman, 38 years old, painter, is not pedagogue, regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS−;

8 – woman, 43 years old, painter, is not pedagogue, has no regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS−;

9 – woman, 40 years old, painter, is not pedagogue, has no regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS−;

10 – man, 64 years old, painter, pedagogue, regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS+;

11 – woman, 61 years old, painter, is not pedagogue, regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS+;

12 – man, 75 years old, painter, is not pedagogue, regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS+;

13 – man, 33 years old, painter, is not pedagogue, regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS−;

14 – woman, 52 years old, painter, is not pedagogue, regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS−;

15 – man, 47 years old, painter, pedagogue, regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS+;

16 – man, 52 years old, painter, is not pedagogue, has no regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS−;

17 – woman, 38 years old, painter, is not pedagogue, regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS−;

18 – man, 39 years old, painter, is not pedagogue, regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS+;

19 – woman, 29 years old, painter, is not pedagogue, regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS−;

20 – man, 38 years old, painter, is not pedagogue, regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS+;

21 – woman, 84 years old, painter, is not pedagogue, regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS+;

22 – woman, 47 years old, painter, is not pedagogue, has no regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS−;

23 – woman, 32 years old, painter, is not pedagogue, regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS−;

24 – man, 57 years old, painter, is not pedagogue, has no regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS+;

25 – woman 63 years old, painter, pedagogue, regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS+;

26 – man, 72 years old, painter, pedagogue, has no regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS+;

27 – man, 65 years old, painter, pedagogue, has no regular exhibition in Latvia and abroad, CS−.

AN ACTOR'S SPEECH TOOLS IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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Abstract

In the 21st century, it is hard to imagine actors' speech tools without technical aids. Society's rapid adoption of life on the Internet furnished by modern technologies is creating a fast progressing explosion of knowledge. These new standards undoubtedly influence and determine the development of theatrical language, and thus actors' speech.

Keywords: *actor, voice, speech, microphone.*

In none of the periods of history to date has it been possible to separate understanding of an actor's speech from the prevailing scientific opinions. "As scientific paradigms change, so too do paradigms of acting",[1] argues director and theatre historian Joseph R. Roach (1947). Once they are perceived through the looking-glass of contemporary media, the meaning of terms like *the real*, *the natural*, *the imitative*, and *the truthful*, which thus far served as landmarks within actors' speech, changes. Autobiographical solo performances on social media, reality television, various shows and mass consumption entertainment products, which integrate live and digitalised components, change their existing forms in the present and influence the course of the future.

To quote theatre historian Rhonda Blair (1951), "It is impossible to predict what other forms of performance will arise in the next decade. (..) My goal here is to direct us to the deeper poetry and mystery of what it means to act, and thus what it means to be human."[2]

What are the speech tools that provide the actor with the ability to control his body and achieve what the theatre anthropologist Nicola Savarese (1945) calls

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[1] Blair, R. The Actor, Image and Action: Acting and Cognitive Neuroscience. London and New York: 2008, p. 23.

[2] Ibid.

physical intelligence?[1] What is the synergy of these tools within an actor's working process? The lecture "An Actor's Speech Tools in the 21st Century" will seek answers to these questions. Initially, the simple focus on the basic elements: voice, breathing, gestures and a late 20th century addition – microphones is confronted by countless logical impasses. Can inhalation be described as an actor's speech tool? Maybe the tool is not inhalation, but rather the vocal base provided by inhalation or, to be more exact, the volume of the lungs? And maybe not the volume of the lungs, but rather specific organs: the trachea, lungs and the diaphragm? Psychic processes including memory, feelings, imagination, attention and will that are both absolutely necessary as well as irreplaceable within an actor's work can also be considered to be speech tools. However, perhaps it is not these processes that are tools, but rather specific regions of brain in the left hemisphere of the brain or, more precisely, certain neurons that respond to physical and psychic impulses, and can be considered to be speech tools?

In developing a train of thought started thus, not only difficulties of not only a terminological but also a conceptual nature invariably arise. Both because actors, directors and speech educators often use approximate and personally coined terms, understanding of which rarely coincides with the definitions of these terms as given in dictionaries and encyclopaedias, and also because, depending on the educator's language and working methodology, there exist in any study group processes and body place terms that can only be understood within the group. Theatre actors, directors, critics as well as viewers have often been intrigued by the mystical secret of the appeal of an actor's voice that is beyond definition. What are the speech tools whose presence or, on the contrary, absence determines the impact and power of the spoken word, as well as the depth and fascination of the thought behind it?

For example, the heir to Anna Petrova's (1929) method, Dzintra Mendziņa[2] often talked about creating a voice "in a lake", other directors refer to it as talking "through one's liver", Dž. Dž. Džilindžers[3] encourages actors to talk "with full energy", and Alvis Hermanis[4] sometimes uses the phrase, "Talk with power!", which most

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[1] Barba, E., Savarese, N. *The Secret Art of the Performer. A Dictionary of Theatre Anthropology.* P. 250.

[2] Dzintra Mendziņa (1937–2015) – voice and speech teacher and author of the book *A Word, A Thought, Speech* (*Vārds, doma, runa*. Riga: Sol Vita, 2004), who trained at least a hundred notable actors, directors and journalists, etc.

[3] Dž. Dž. Džilindžers (1966) – started out as a member of a group of young directors "The Unbearable Theatre Artel" in the 1990s. He later joined the Daile Theatre, where for over a decade he created visually impressive and commercially successful productions in his role as Director of the Daile.

[4] Alvis Hermanis (1965), globally renowned opera and theatre director. He was the first proponent of postmodern theatre aesthetics in Latvia in the 1990s. Influenced by the aesthetics of contemporary Western theatre and cinema, Hermanis initiated aestheticized, intellectual and ironically estranged games with the bodies of actors, texts and visual codes, as well as lighting codes, signs and metaphors from different cultures.

likely in all instances means activating the stomach's resonators. Even if resonators are merely considered to be "empty spaces" in the human body (like nasal cavities, the forehead zone within the skull, the end of the throat, thorax or intervertebral stages of the spine), if this case too, theatrical theory is not united in its understanding. "Using Grotowski's (1933–1999) terminology, we called the different voice tones 'resonators'", says Eugenio Barba (1936) in the chapter of his theatre anthropology devoted to training.[1] However, it is better to start by setting everything in order.

The term "speech tool" has been borrowed from a theoretical guide to acting, which arrived in Latvia at the start of the 1990s with the kind assistance of director and acting teacher Pēteris Krilovs[2]. Published in 1986, this thin brochure, "A Practical Handbook for the Actor"[3] provided its readers with a schematic, and at the same time, clear and structured understanding of how the creative theatrical process takes place. Back then (before she commenced acting studies at the Latvian Academy of Culture), chapter 7 of this publication "The Tools of the Craft" prompted the reader to consider theatre not just as art, but also as a specific craft skill, which entails learning to use certain instruments. Studying "Britannica Academic", the database of the academic version of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, which is available to a wide audience of readers, it is evident that an actor's speech tools such as the voice are considered in synergetic conjunction with body language, i.e. movements and gestures respectively:

"The basic means of the actor, which have traditionally served as the primary area of his training, are voice and body gesture. The actor's voice must be flexible and of all situations and experiences. It must be able to deliver a "poor" voice or a vulgar, rough, angry, or harsh voice. It must vary as much as the events to be created,"[4] say Lee Strasberg and Ned Chaillet in describing an actor's basic tasks in its chapter "Acting".

"The methods used to train these tools of the actor derive from other fields, such as from the training of the singer's voice and of some forms of dance and pantomime. These contain many useful exercises for strengthening of the respective muscles of

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[1] Barba, E. From "Learning" to "Learning to Learn". Barba, E., Savarese, N. *The Secret Art of the Performer. A Dictionary of Theatre Anthropology.* London and New York: Routledge, 1991, p. 244.

[2] Pēteris Krilovs (1949) – theatre and cinema director and educator, who trained his own actors, "developing their skills in expressing psychological and physical impulses without constraint in order to create their own psychoanalytical language."

[3] Bruder, M., Cohn, L. M., Olnek, M., Pollack, N., Previto, R., Zigler, S. *A Practical Handbook for the Actor.* New York: Vintage Books, 1986, p. 67.

[4] Strasberg L., Chaillet N. Acting. *Britannica Academic.* Available: http://academic.eb.com/levels/collegiate/article/acting/110170 (viewed 1.04.2017.)

the voice and body. But while the technical accomplishment in the singer and in the dancer may represent a large part of what is appreciated in their performances, in the actor the very fact of the accomplishment must remain hidden. Technical accomplishment should go unnoticed by the audience."[1]

What then are the summarily listed, absolutely essential and irreplaceable tools referred to in this book, which are the foundation for an actor's craft?

- A clear, resonant voice with good articulation,
- a powerful physique,
- the ability to analyse the scene correctly,
- the ability to use words to achieve a specific effect,
- a retentive memory,
- the ability to influence other people,
- the ability to act without thinking, based on unconscious impulses,
- the ability to concentrate,
- confidence,
- will,
- common sense.[2]

One third of the 12 tools of the craft listed here directly apply to actor's speech. Voice, speech, text analysis and work with words are undoubtedly elements of actor's speech.

Here and henceforth, the actor's speech tools are referred to as the processes, movements and attributes, within the human body and in close conjunction with it, whose mutual interaction during a theatrical performance creates the act of speech that can be heard and seen by the theatre audience. How can one categorise them in more detail? The Polish director and theatre reformer Jerzy Grotowski defined theatre as what takes place between spectator and actor.[3] In regard to actors' speech, one can contend that in a live, non-conserved manner, it can only exist in the present; moreover, only and solely in the moment when the connection with the viewer occurs. Without the presence of the viewer, an actor's verbal manifestation is justifiably comparable to the conceptual range of sounds created by any other person. The theatre historian and cognitive scientist John Lutterbie contends that the tools of acting craft: movement, language, gestures, memory, perception and the ability to concentrate are shared by most people: "To insist that artists are different from other people is to undervalue what makes them special. What makes actors unique is the way they are able to use the tools they have in common with everyone else to create performances that have

[1] Strasberg L., Chaillet N. Acting. *Britannica Academic.* Available: http://academic.eb.com/levels/collegiate/article/acting/110170 (viewed 1.04.2017.)

[2] Ibid.

[3] Grotowski, J. *Towards a Poor Theatre*. London: Methuen, 1991, p. 32.

the potential to enthral an audience."[1] If one considers actors' speech detached from other elements in the overall context of theatrical art, one can identify the nuances that characterise the immutable aspect of an actor's instrument of speech. Human biological development takes place comparatively slowly, and it is widely accepted that "we do not differ much from the Ancient Greeks or representatives of the Elizabethan age"[2]. Accordingly, it is unlikely that the actor's instrument of speech and its inherent traits have changed significantly. The physiological part of the actor's speech process (like that of any human being) is facilitated by three sub-systems:

1) the respiratory, i.e. the breathing system,
2) the phonatory or sound formation system,
3) the articulation system, which ensures variability of sounds and coordinates the quality of diction.

The respiratory system ensures that the breathing process consists of three stages:

a) external (pulmonary) breathing,
b) oxygen transportation within the body,
c) internal (cellular) breathing.

The quality of the sound of speech is determined by correct and deep breathing. In a calm state, a person takes 18–20 breaths a minute, i.e. inhalations in relation to exhalations are 1:1 or 1:1.5. During a performance, exhalation lengthens by 10–20 times. Words are spoken breathing out, but, the longer the exhalation, the smoother and the more balanced speech is in terms of power. The way in which an actor learns to regulate his breathing is dependent on the ease and power of the spoken voice, the richness and beauty of his dynamic tones, and the musicality and melodiousness of his speech. Mastery of correct breathing skills negates overload and strain, ensures vocal clarity, and breadth of range, etc. A human being breathes with:

- the upper part of the chest,
- the lower part of the chest, and
- the diaphragm.

The main role in the process of correct breathing is played by developed inter-rib muscles and a powerful diaphragm. It should be noted that full breathing manifests itself the same way in men and women of all age groups. The involvement of the lower rib muscles in breathing helps "bodily" (or so-called "corporeal") sound, ensures consistent registers, softens the vocal timbre, and gives the voice a special select undertone. Breathing thus, the speaker senses that his whole body is participating in the speech process and not just his throat and vocal cords.

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[1] Lutterbie, J. Toward a General Theory of Acting. Cognitive Science and Performance. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, p. 103.

[2] Ibid, p. 23.

The phonatory system functions as follows:

Inhaled air rises up from the lungs through the vocal cords. Two long muscles – vocal cords come into contact hundreds of times a second. For women this occurs a maximum of 200 times a second and approximately 100 times for men. This contact between vocal cords generates sound. It fills the neck, nasal cavity and palate. To create individual sounds, vocal cords remain apart, but in the majority of instances involving sound, they come into contact. When the upper of the vocal cords come into contact, the lower part opens forms, creating a gap and vice versa. Vocal cords are always moving towards one another. These sounds are regulated and transformed into words with the help of the tongue, teeth, jaws and lips.[1] Talking and singing are the most complex motor actions that the body can perform. In order to generate a higher timbral tone, vocal cords touch one another up to 100 times a second, whereas they touch one another less often to generate lower sounds.[2] The greater the length to which vocal cords stretch out, the higher the vocal tone, whereas the shorter they contract, the lower the sound.

The articulation system envisages that:

An actor's speech apparatus contains approximately 40 different muscles that facilitate the process of speech. As Peter MacNeilage points out in the study, *The Origin of Speech* (2008), "not all 40 muscles work for sound, of course, but even assuming that just fifteen have to change what they are doing for each successive sound, this would mean that about 225 different muscle activations would occur *in each second of speech*. That averages about one event every 5 milliseconds!"[3]

Examining an actor's speech tools in the 21st century in more detail, one is compelled to conclude that these can be divided into two separate categories: organic and technical. Among the organic are: firstly – the voice, secondly – breathing (which, in turn, incorporates inhalation as both the base for the voice, and sometimes as an accompanying special effect; likewise, exhalation, which similar to inhalation facilitates the sound function of the voice, and as and when necessary functions as a complementary element to speech). Thirdly, the arsenal of organic speech tools includes body language: mimicry, gestures and general physical manifestations (like posture and movements, etc.). Similarly, technical tools of speech are considered to include microphones, without which productions in today's large theatre

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[1] Meister, E. The beauty of the Human Voice. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0pO66fEZvkY (viewed 30.10.2018.)

[2] Whittaker, N. J. The Amazing Instrument that is the Human Voice. An Exploration into the Amazing Instrument that is the Human Voice. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ErZhsV2Hyvc (viewed 30.10.2018.)

[3] MacNeilage, P. F. The Origin of Speech. New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2008, p. 4.

auditoriums would be practically unimaginable. Microphones and sound amplifiers are now used in the theatre to an unprecedented extent. It should be added that the amplification of the sounds generated by an actor is not something completely new and unheard of in theatre history. In ancient tragedies, masks served not only as a descriptive element for a character, but also as a kind of resonator system. The mask had the function of a megaphone – to transmit the sound of the voice to those sitting in the last row.[1] It was not only able to amplify the sound of the voice, but also to transform it, changing it timbrally. In ancient theatre, it seemed as if the actor's voice erupted from unfathomable depths.

Nowadays, the microphone serves as a kind of extension of the invisible part of the body. "Also, the microphone functions like a camera, in making the small large and turning the detail into the whole,"[2] Eric Salzman points out in his study. The spoken, whispered and unprojected singing voice – normally not audible beyond the confines of a small room or intimate public gathering – can be transmitted over large distances in a performance space through recording. The idiosyncrasies of highly individual voices are emphasized and brought into focus.[3] "Microphones and loudspeakers allow not only projection, but also processing. It is now possible, quickly and easily and with relatively simple means, to alter vocal sound and manipulated fragments of vocal sound to create electronic or electro-acoustic extensions in performance and to use these, to further enhance, distort, amplify, or accompany the live voice,"[4] concludes composer, music historian and critic Eric Salzman (1933–2017). According to him, the best known of these techniques is looping. This permits changes of speed without affecting pitch.[5] Originally created using records and tapes, but now transformed and improved, this musical culture with microphones, loudspeakers, sound amplification and recordings is now over a century old and is increasingly usurping control of the world of theatre sound.

Actors on the stage must live with microphones that are hung in the air, fastened to the stage floor, pinned to clothing, concealed in their hair, hooked behind their ears, stuck to their cheek, installed in stand or handheld. Therefore, special thought has to be given to the trajectory of movement, amplitude of gestures and vocal intensity. Using a microphone as a voice amplification tool, the actor's possibilities

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[1] Why did ancient Greeks wear acting masks? https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-rDRnk-rhCg (Viewed 30.10.2018.)

[2] Salzman, E. & Desi, T. The New Music Theatre. Seeing the Voice, Hearing the Body. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 73.

[3] Ibid., p. 73.

[4] Salzman, E. & Desi, T. The New Music Theatre. Seeing the Voice, Hearing the Body. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 28.

[5] Ibid, pp. 28–29.

to concentrate on the character's throught process in sustained and target manner are significantly reduced, because before walking on stage, for safety's sake, the microphone's technical connection and battery life are checked several times. Instead of connecting to his character's thought process and thinking about his actions on stage, he is compelled to repeatedly focus his attention on the technical equipment for the performance. If something technically malfunctions, such fragmentation of thoughts continues on stage. However, with technical progress, it is likely that in a few decades' time, the aforementioned sound shortcomings will have been resolved. Tiny wireless microphones and tiny transmitters sewn under skin will conceivably deliver more flawless effects. However, it is hard to predict how this will influence health and psyche of actors. Technologically modified vocal power is already producing different articulation and rhythm of speech. Influenced by audio voice recordings, in which countless manipulations and natural human abilities exaggerated by special effects are possible due to technological innovations, actors try to imitate recorded sounds. As a result, there are far fewer reasons for original new works. More than ever before, conditions are prompting imitation, transforming that which already exists, quoting and reproducing works created by others.

Accordingly, it is not the actor who determines events, but rather the director, choosing the intensity of sound and paradoxically not even the director, but working on a day-to-day basis – it is the sound engineer, who depending on his tastes, know-how and competence, who regulates the volume and acuity of sound.

"In the theatre, we desire as natural a timbre as possible," states sound editor and engineer Mārtiņš Strelēvics. "Therefore, both hung and floor microphones are used to achieve as much sound coverage as possible. One can achieve a much more natural effect with such equipment – seemingly placing the viewer closer to the action. But they don't reveal details. If the microphone is attached next to the mouth, then you can hear every nuance."[1] In the theatre, it is the sound engineer's duty to help to take the viewer into the necessary environment. It is playing with fantasy.

In performance, vocal expressions have mostly become indivisibly linked to language. The voice must transmit the spoken word. Actors of the day have to employ their voices as parasyntatic, parasemantic, and parapragmatic tools. (..) For one, the voice would clarify the syntactic structure of what is spoken; second, it would accentuate and emphasize the intended meaning; and third, it could reinforce its desired effect on the listener.[2]

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[1] Daudziņa, Z. Let's just be friends! A conversation with theatre sound engineers about actors' tools of speech in the 21st century. *Teātra Vēstnesis* 2018/III, p. 87.

[2] Fisher-Lihte, E. The Transformative Power of Performance. A New Aesthetics. London and New York: Routledge, 2008, p. 125.

Looking back at the distant past, one can see that the actor had the function of transferring communication. The actor's voice as a used as a communicative bridge from the text to the listener's consciousness. In ancient culture, a tool of the ritual craft was the word. In the 21st century theatrical performances too, having escaped the power of rationality, the voice becomes dangerous and seductive.[1]

The subject of the tool of speech is conducive to broad possibilities for interpretation. It can also be considered in the following categories:

- body parts involved in breathing (diaphragm, lungs, throat, etc.),
- organs intended for articulation (tongue, lips, palate, etc.),
- processing facilitating thoughts (concentration, imagination, memory, interpretation of facts, etc.).

You see it is these – the latter, of course, that are furthest removed from the physiological nature of human beings and lead to, if not artistic, then most certainly individually interpreted speech.

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ROLE OF PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE IN SAFEGUARDING THE TRADITION OF THE SONG AND DANCE CELEBRATION

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Abstract

The authors discuss the role of participatory governance in safeguarding and developing intangible cultural heritage using the Nationwide Song and Dance Celebration (SDC) tradition as an example for an analysis.

Although the surveys of the community show that the SDC tradition maintenance is considered to be satisfactory and the organisational system at the moment is working fine, for fostering the tradition and increasing the role of the tradition bearers' stronger involvement and support for the bottom-up activities of the community would be recommended. This is also needed to develop a more democratic and sustainable approach to safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, as recommended by the international standard setting instruments that introduce the concept of participatory governance. Moreover, occasional dissatisfaction with authoritarian and top-down governance of the SDC emerges in public and social media, implicitly indicating the need for a more bottom-up approach and greater involvement of community members in the decision making. In addition, the principles of participatory governance should be incorporated in the Song and Dance Celebration Law to be in line with the more recent Law on Intangible Cultural Heritage. Taking into account the activities of the most powerful NGO *Latvian Song Celebrations Society*, the overall direction can be considered as positive, although there is still a need for improvements.

Keywords: *participatory governance, participatory arts, intangible cultural heritage, communities, Song and Dance Celebration.*

Introduction

Cultural heritage is considered to be a 'shared resource' and a 'common good' held in trust for future generations, whose care is a 'common responsibility' for all stakeholders [European Union 2018: 12]. Such an emphasis on the role of civil actors matches with a 'democratic' turn in cultural governance in general, and this might also be directly applied to the use, access and management of the heritage [Cortés-Vázquez, Jiménez-Esquinas and Sánchez-Carretero 2017]. Therefore, the protection and safeguarding, management and promotion of cultural heritage requires effective multilevel governance and good cross-sectoral cooperation, involving all stakeholders, from public authorities and professionals to private actors, civil society organisations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the voluntary sector [European Union 2018: 12]. At the same time this orientation on practices of participation has provoked a wide array of critical studies that have investigated the intended and unintended consequences of participation, and question whether the various ideals of participation, including consensus, better decisions, legitimacy and support are actually met.

In this paper the authors will discuss the example of the Nationwide Song and Dance Celebration (further on – SDC or Celebration) tradition, which is inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO [UNESCO 2008]. The community – SDC tradition bearers – is made up of at least 2% of the Latvian population, making this the largest community of intangible cultural heritage in the country. Regardless of the impressive size, the data show that 87% of the community admit that they do not have a chance to impact the decision making, the development of the tradition or the organising process of the SDC [Research Centre of the LAC 2014]. The safeguarding and sustaining of the tradition are strictly regulated by the Song and Dance Celebration Law [Saeima 2005] and authoritatively organised by the public institutions (Cabinet of Ministers, Ministry of Culture, Latvian National Centre for Culture (LNCC) etc.). On the contrary, the recently introduced Intangible Cultural Heritage Law [Saeima 2016] declares the important role of the community in safeguarding this particular tradition. Hence the research question arises – what is the role of participatory governance in safeguarding and developing the tradition of the Nationwide SDC in Latvia?

The authors have set the following tasks: (1) to analyse theoretical assumptions about participatory governance and its role in intangible cultural heritage; (2) to assess the role of the legislative and cultural policy framework as a standard setting instrument for participatory governance in Latvia; (3) to describe the existing mechanisms for participatory governance using the example of the Song and Dance Celebration; (4) to outline the views of participants and community members about

the distribution of power and responsibilities among different stakeholders; and finally (5) to make conclusions and recommendations for the future. The article has been divided into five chapters: Introduction, Theoretical discussion, Research results, Conclusions, and Sources.

Theoretical discussion

Participatory governance has become a very popular topic in the past three decades. As pointed out by Wampler and McNulty [2011], it has taken root in tandem with the so-called 'third wave' of democratization where a significant emphasis has been placed on the issues of decentralization and participation [Vidović, Žuvela 2018: 26]. Governance goes beyond the formal institutional framework of the state to encompass the interaction between formal and informal institutions, rules, processes and relationships. It is a process of bargaining between those who hold power and those who seek to influence it [Sharma 2008: 3]. Citizen participation in *government* has traditionally centred on measures to facilitate greater public access to information about government, enhance the rights of citizens to be 'consulted' on matters which directly affect them, and ensure that all voices can be heard equally through fair systems of representative democracy. Such measures typically include standardised rules, protocols, and enabling legislation and regulation. However, participation in *governance,* or participatory governance, involves different principles and methods for engagement. These might include developing transformative partnerships; establishing system-wide information exchanges and knowledge transfers; decentralising decision making and inter-institutional dialogue; and embracing relationships based more on reciprocity and trust [Aulich 2009: 45]. The concept of participatory governance involves sharing the governance responsibilities among the stakeholders who are directly involved in the process and understand it, and this can be directly applied also to the cultural heritage. The stakeholders can be either politicians, officials or experts (as presumed in traditional governance) or include also lower level (local) administrations, public institutions, non-governmental organisations, civil initiatives, local community representatives, artists, the bearers of the tradition in the case of intangible cultural heritage and others. In the participatory governance model, the authority is granted to all the involved sides, emphasising that in this model the decisions are made by a collective, not by an individual [Sani et al. 2015].

Key aspects of participatory governance – participation and access – have been popular in cultural policies for a long time. However, this has been the case more in relation to ideas, ambitions and visions; participatory governance of cultural heritage expresses the will to move towards more participation in everyday, common practice [European Union 2018]. Historically speaking, the governance of cultural

heritage has often been a top-down approach: from institutions (i.e. the 'experts') to the public. By contrast, participatory governance of cultural heritage combines knowledge of the real interests and needs of society with those of the cultural heritage assets (collections, staff competence, etc.). As a result, it recognizes many different *experts*, builds relationships with communities and communicates, facilitates and partners with communities. Of course, both types of governance are relevant, and will be applied when appropriate in the future [European Union 2018: 7]. Recently in cultural policy documents the view of the cultural heritage and its importance has changed, and its role has been recognized as a 'strategic resource for a sustainable Europe'. The active engagement of communities in cultural heritage contributes to unlocking its potential for sustainable development and its enhanced quality of life [European Union 2018: 11].

In general, participatory governance means that the voice is given to the individuals when decisions, that directly affect them, are made. But what to do in the situation when the community involved in safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage is very large as in the example of the Latvian Nationwide SDC? In this case it is impossible for the authorities to listen to every single individual tradition bearer and this is the place where collective representative organisations take a place. Civic engagement outlines multiple ways that the citizen can engage with the state, although it is rarely the individual citizen that can interact with the state but a collection of individuals. Citizens can be organised in civil society organisations, political parties and organisations as well as the private sector [Sharma 2008: 3]. And even if the state provides the legislative framework for the participatory governance that does not mean that civil society or NGOs will definitely show their will in participation. Participation has clear virtues, for both intrinsic and instrumental reasons. However, unintended consequences are also possible. In certain circumstances, participation may not be efficient, in others it may not be equitable, and in yet others it may be neither. Like market failure and government failure, there can be community failure, too [United Nations 2007]. There are plenty of obstacles to participation that can be seen as gaps in capacity, incentive and/or power:

- Capacity means that certain skills may be needed to participate in governance. These skills are both general (i.e. laws concerning cultural heritage) and specific (i.e. knowledge of cultural heritage);
- Incentive means that on an individual basis the totality of intrinsic and instrumental values must exceed the costs of participation;
- Power means dominant groups may use participation only as a means to forward their own interests [European Union 2018: 21].

The studies of participatory governance in heritage demonstrate that participatory governance might lead to conflicts and to political and ideological tensions

that are linked to the power relations between different stakeholders that construct, negotiate and reconstruct different heritage meanings and specific institutional and legislative frameworks that determine the capacity of different stakeholders to influence the process of decision making [Cortés-Vázquez, Jiménez-Esquinas and Sánchez-Carretero 2017]. This is especially risky in the above-mentioned large-scale communities where opinions between different stakeholders might vary greatly. Also, organising participatory processes is an endeavour with fundamentally unpredictable outcomes. Although such lack of control may be uncomfortable for planners and organisers, unpredictability is also an opportunity for the emergence of new perspectives and ideas. From this perspective, unintended forms of citizen involvement are not to be discarded as solely resulting from either illegitimate repression or control or from the wrong application of a fundamentally good method. Instead, both intended and unintended responses will have to be recognized and appreciated as meaningful forms of citizen involvement [Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts 2010: 37].

In conclusion, traditional approach to governance involves standardized rules, procedures (legislative measures and regulation). However, participatory governance, which has an increasing role in management and governance of cultural heritage as recommended by international and European policies, requires a different approach: new type of partnerships, information exchanges, decentralized decision making which can lead to mutual trust between authorities and community members. Yet, participatory governance may also bring along risks. Even though the civic participation may lead to the stronger identification or comprehension about the heritage, without the public support the experiments may lead to even higher endangerment to the heritage itself. It is significant in case of endangered cultural heritage, but also where large scale communities are involved (which is the case of the SDC), as the opinions between different stakeholders might vary greatly. Therefore, a tentative approach is necessary, combining top-down approach in setting the regulations and bottom-up approach in engaging the community members.

Research results

The role of participatory governance in intangible cultural heritage will be discussed using the example of the SDC in Latvia. The community for safeguarding this tradition is formed by all the participants of the choirs, dance groups, amateur theatres, brass bands, folk ensembles (vocal and instrumental), kokle ensembles, groups of ethnic minorities, handicraft artists, craftsmen, traditional applied arts studios etc. from Latvia and diaspora that aim to participate in the SDC. Amateur art movement is very well developed and popular in Latvia – almost 70,000 people are involved in different amateur art activities, the largest part of them also participate in

the Nationwide SDC that takes place once in 5 years since 1873, being an important and widespread national tradition and heritage.

In general, the community of the SDC is as the minimum of 2%[1] of all the inhabitants of Latvia (number of the SDC participants in 2018 – 43,219 [LSM.LV 2018], number of inhabitants at the end of 2018 – 1,927,174 [Central Statistical Bureau 2019]), that is the largest community of intangible cultural heritage in the country.

To draw the context and conclusions about the participatory governance of the SDC tradition maintaining process in Latvia, this chapter will be divided in three sub-parts discussing (1) the role of the legislative and cultural policy framework as a standard setting instrument for participatory governance in Latvia; (2) the existing mechanisms for participatory governance using the example of the SDC; and (3) the views of participants and community members about the distribution of power and responsibilities among different stakeholders.

Mixed research methodology was applied, using primary and secondary data. Document analysis was applied for the description of legislative framework; a semi-structured interview with the head of the board of the *Latvian Song Celebrations Society* Ints Teterovskis was conducted (Nov. 12, 2018) to assess the role of this NGO in participatory governance of the SDC. As quantitative data sources surveys (2014, 2017) of the SDC participants conducted by the Research Centre of the Latvian Academy of Culture (LAC) were used, as well as financial data from the annual report of the *Latvian Song Celebrations Society* obtained from LURSOFT database.

Legislative and cultural policy framework as a standard setting instrument for participatory governance in Latvia

As one of the priorities of the Cultural Policy Guidelines 2014–2020 "Creative Latvia" [Ministry of Culture 2014] the preservation and development of cultural capital involving community members in cultural processes is outlined. It means that cultural policy officials have recognized the importance of the participation in the arts, mainly in terms of social impact, as a tool to improve the quality of life and boost creativity of individuals and communities [Tjarve, Zemite and Freiberga 2017: 388–

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[1] Not all the artistic groups that were preparing for the Celebration, were selected for participation, so the percentage is even higher. As stated in the Cabinet of Ministers Order No. 772 by the Cabinet of Ministers *About the Plan for the Safeguarding and Development of the Song and Dance Celebration Tradition in 2016–2018*, in 2015, the Latvian Song and Dance Celebration Community is made up of approximately 145,000 members of various generations of artistic groups who acquire and foster their knowledge and skills through choirs, dance groups, brass bands, vocal groups, amateur theatres, folk ensembles and other groups related to traditional culture [Cabinet of Ministers 2016]. That means the Song and Dance Celebration community might reach up to 7% in 2015.

389]. Consequently, the Ministry of Culture in its SWOT analysis has admitted that one of its opportunities for the planning period 2014–2020 is to "improve cultural governance through broader involvement of the cultural non-governmental sector and the development of public-private partnerships" [Ministry of Culture 2014]. So, the participation in arts and participatory governance is a topical debate in Latvian cultural policy.

The first document that came into force in Latvia regarding the safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage and the role of community in the process was the **UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003).** It is underlined that each of its Member States (States Parties) is responsible for the inheritance of the intangible cultural heritage and the preservation of its cultural identity as opposed to the cultural standardization. As an intangible cultural heritage UNESCO recognizes customs, games and oral forms, knowledge and skills as well as related tools, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces, recognized by communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals, as part of their cultural heritage. Each State Party shall endeavour to ensure the widest possible participation of communities, groups, relevant non-governmental organisations and, where appropriate, individuals in efforts to identify, define, preserve, create, maintain and transmit intangible cultural heritage, and to involve them actively in its management [UNESCO 2003]. So basically, the principles of participatory governance have already been included in the Convention that serves as an umbrella document for other state and national cultural policy documents.

Soon after Latvia acceded the Convention, **the Song and Dance Celebration Law** was also prepared and adopted [Saeima 2005]. Most of the internationally and in the Convention accepted principles of participatory governance have not been included in the Law. The law strictly regulates the role of the state institutions and of the municipalities in the organisational process of the Celebration as well as the management of everyday processes. For example, The Cabinet of Ministers decides on the time and location of the next celebration, organises and approves the Council of SDC and its by-law, determines the procedure for the selection of representatives of different artistic fields, non-governmental organisations and cultural centres for approval by the Council of the SDC, as well as the selection criteria; determines the procedure for the distribution of the state earmarked grant for the remuneration of collective managers and the payment of social tax, as well as the criteria for the distribution thereof.

The latest document regarding the governance of intangible cultural heritage in Latvia is **the Intangible Cultural Heritage Law** [Saeima 2016]. Firstly, the law clearly defines the terms regarding the intangible cultural heritage – the community, the intangible cultural heritage, its elements, safeguarding the intangible cultural

heritage. Then, the law helps to regulate the concept and the compilation of the National List of Intangible Cultural Heritage. The list is being compiled with the help of the local communities under the monitoring of the Latvian National Centre for Culture. Since 2017 there are 19 elements inscribed in the National List [LNCC 2020]. The only two exceptions – the tradition of the SDC in Latvia and its symbolism, as well as the Suiti cultural space – have been included in the National List automatically without going through the submission, nomination, valuation process as they have already been internationally recognized by UNESCO. The Section 8 of the law describes the participation of communities in the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage, stating that the community cares for ensuring the sustainability of its intangible cultural heritage, and it also participates in legal, technical, organisational, administrative and financial measures implemented by the State administrative institutions, including local government institutions. The third part of section 8 states that the community has the right to refuse to participate in the measures for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage implemented by other persons (including the measures implemented by the State administrative institutions and local government institutions) [Saeima 2016]. This draws to a conclusion that regarding the safeguarding the SDC tradition and its community these two laws are slightly in a contradiction – the Song and Dance Celebration Law delegates all the organisational processes of the Celebration to the public sector, while the Intangible Cultural Heritage Law empowers the community to participate in the organisational process or even to refuse to participate in the safeguarding measures implemented by public authorities.

Existing mechanisms for participatory governance

As the community is so large and the tradition of the SDC is so nationally and internationally significant, it is impossible to ensure that the opinion of each individual participant is heard. In the following subchapter, the authors will identify those mechanisms which are in place to ensure participatory governance in the SDC. They are: participation of representatives of the community in the highest-level governance structures (the Council, the Artistic Council and the Action Committee of the SDC); the role of the non-governmental sector; and brief outline of different activities aimed at engaging community members carried out by the National Centre for Culture.

The Song and Dance Celebration Law [Saeima 2005] describes the governance of the Celebration and outlines the responsibilities of each stakeholder. The highest authority is the Cabinet of Ministers. The Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Education and science with its subordinate institutions – the Latvian National Centre for Culture and the National Centre for Education being the main organisers

and the responsible state institutions for the maintenance of the Celebration for two target groups – adults and children and youth. The authors in this article mainly focus on the process of the SDC and its main event – the Nationwide SDC with its target audience, adults. This event and process is supervised by three authorities: the Council, the Artistic Council and the Action Committee where we can identify some representation of the community. There are 15 members in the Council of the SDC including the current officials, 8 representatives from different artistic fields and 1 member from the NGO sector. All the members excluding the officials (politicians) are at the same time part of the Artistic Council of the SDC meaning they can decide on the artistic content of the Celebration. Additionally, there is also an Action Committee of the Celebration including representatives from the ministries, municipalities, medical emergency and other important services for the organising processes [Saeima 2005]. As the maintenance of the tradition of the SDC is so important on the national level the organisational process of the Celebration is so strictly regulated by the law that it is almost impossible to include the lower level in the decision making – the civil society or the NGOs. Formally of course, there is one representative from the NGO sector. In the Song and Dance Celebration Law the participatory governance is instituted horizontally by involving different state and municipal stakeholders. Meanwhile it excludes the vertical, bottom-up cooperation – actual members of the SDC community, participants of the Celebration.

Taking this into account, the main responsible body LNCC takes some efforts to organise the involvement of the participants and to listen to their opinions and needs. Regular SDC participant and artistic group leader surveys are carried out. The LNCC organises diverse activities (workshops, seminars etc.) to facilitate networking of the community representatives [LNCC 2018]. In addition, social media campaigns are organised on a regular basis aiming to include every individual (e.g. the campaign *Folk Costume for Everyone (Katram savu tautastērpu)* is a project that enhances the knowledge and encourages the involvement of community members to make his/her own Latvian folk costume). All these activities facilitate networking and are aimed at more deliberate participant involvement in SDC process. Still, they are top-down activities that exclude direct participation in the governance or other bottom-up initiatives.

Non-governmental organisations are a widespread instrument for representation of community needs in governance. Larger organisations and associations may represent the opinions of individual community members and serve as a tool for adhering to the principles of participatory governance of the SDC. Examples include NGOs established by a single artistic group, the members of one particular field of the amateur art (e.g. *Latvian Association of Vocal Ensembles*), or larger part of the community including other NGOs (e.g. *Latvian Song Celebrations Society*).

In general, the NGO sector of the amateur arts in Latvia is still quite weak and underdeveloped, as only about 10–12% of all the amateur artistic groups in Latvia involve non-governmental organisations in their everyday work [Tjarve, Zemite and Freiberga 2017, 2018]. As a good practice, authors can highlight the *Latvian Song Celebrations Society* (further on – LSCS or Society)*,* an NGO aiming to take over several functions from the LNCC in the SDC process maintenance.

The LSCS was founded in 2009, and its main goal is to consolidate in a unified and coordinated manner different groups of a community with a goal to maintain the tradition of Latvia's cultural pride – the tradition of the SDC, strengthening the understanding of its value both in Latvia and abroad [LSCS 2017]. More regular activities of the Society started only after 2014, reaching its peak after the Centenary SDC in 2018 and currently concentrating mostly on the educational issues that impact the inheritance of the choir singing tradition starting from the primary schools. In 2019 there were 288 members of the Society including individuals and several other NGOs (including professional associations of the field). Members representing all the fields (choirs, dance groups, brass bands, amateur theatres, cultural centres etc.) and different involvement levels (chief-conductors and chief-leaders, artistic leaders and participants of the amateur art groups, municipal coordinators or even the interested members from the audience) are invited to participate in the Society. Since its beginning the LSCS has aimed to become an umbrella organisation of other NGOs involved in the field and being the one that collaborates with the state and municipal sector in improving the organisational process and ensuring the continuity of the Celebration, which has also been stated in the statutes of the LSCS [LSCS 2017]. The board of the organisation mainly consists of choir conductors. The overall activity of the Society in recent years is surely connected to the strong personalities who have engaged into the work of the NGO.

The role of this specific organisation has already been stated in the official documents connected to the Celebration. In its annual report of 2017, the LNCC in its SWOT analysis as one of its strengths mentions that the role of NGOs in the governance of the choir field is increasing thanks to the *Latvian Song Celebrations Society* [LNCC 2018]. Also, in the Cabinet of Ministers Order No. 772 *About the Plan for the Safeguarding and Development of the Song and Dance Celebration Tradition in 2016–2018*, chapter No. *2.2. The governance of safeguarding and developing the tradition of the Song and Dance Celebration* states that the safeguarding and development of the tradition happens through cooperation between the state, municipal and non-governmental sectors, as well as international institutions. The document mentions three types of NGOs: (1) professional organisations, (2) field associations, and (3) *Latvian Song Celebrations Society* in particular being the only one specified by the title [Cabinet of Ministers 2016]. This can be considered as

a positive example of participatory governance, though in the most important document regarding the Celebration – the Song and Dance Celebration Law – the NGO sector is still inconspicuous.

Regardless of the fact that the LSCS might eventually be considered as the leading NGO and equivalent partner in the maintenance of the SDC the organisation itself does not show a regular and stable financial activity. Paid employees guarantee the sustainability of the NGO sector as was concluded in the study *The Socioeconomic Impact of the Cultural NGOs in Latvia* [Research Centre of the LAC 2018]. The LSCS does not have employees, and its work is based only on the voluntary enthusiasm [LURSOFT 2019], that is again an endangerment of sustainability as the enthusiasm is a resource that tends to expire [Research Centre of the LAC 2018]. Similarly, the organisation does not show the consistency in fundraising. As can be observed in Figure 1, there are years where the amount of fundraised money is impressive (2012–2014), but as explained in the interview with the head of the board of the LSCS[1] this financial activity is due to a single project that is not directly connected to the LSCS basic activity in representation of the whole sector.
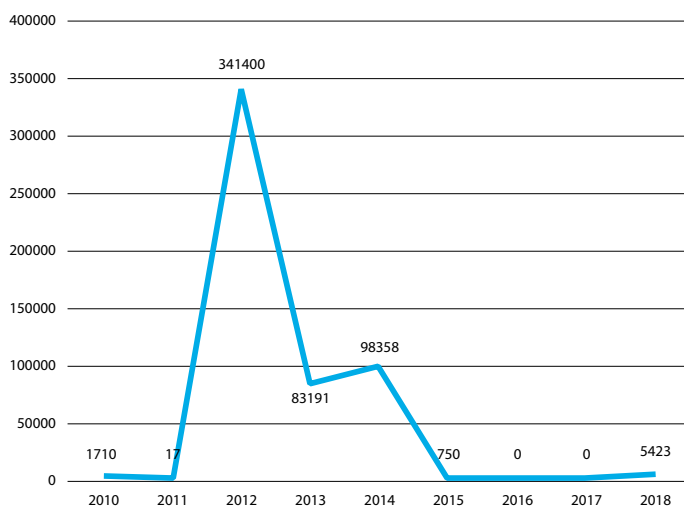

Figure 1. The income of the *Latvian Song Celebrations Society*,
2010–2018, euros. Source: LURSOFT database.

The results obtained through the interview with the head of the board, clarify the aims of the society: to take over the functions which the LNCC has no capacity to implement – organising the regional SDC and developing the collaboration between

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[1] Head of the board of the Latvian Song Celebrations Society, choir conductor Ints Teterovskis, interviewed by Kristine Freiberga in Riga, Theatre House of the LAC "Zirgu pasts", 12.11.2018. Interview time 1 h 10 min.

two ministries – Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Education and Science. In addition, the LSCS aims to enhance participatory governance, e.g. to democratize the selection of the repertoire and the chief-conductors and the chief-leaders: *This is the celebration of the song and the dance – it has already been encoded in its name – we shouldn't make this too complicated with those artistic conceptions' competitions and choosing the songs that only correspond to them – we should just celebrate and sing the songs that we like and that make us happy. Even in the Soviet times they were voting for the songs and elected the chief-conductors and chief-leaders, now it is done authoritatively by the artistic leader of the particular Celebration. We miss being the co-authors of the process and that is what we want to gain by the work in the LSCS* (I. Teterovskis). But as this is a specific aspect of the organisational process of the Celebration, it is to be examined in more detail in further research.

In the previous research the authors have concluded that the sustainability of the SDC is mainly formed by the active tradition maintenance process on an everyday basis in-between Celebrations that include diversifying the sources of funding, fostering the management activities of the artistic groups in that way putting more emphasis on the decentralization of the SDC process and entrusting more of financial and organisational responsibility to the individual participants and artistic groups rather than municipalities and the state. Otherwise the tradition might be endangered if the individual tradition bearers rely on the public support only and are not willing to invest their time, energy and resources in safeguarding the tradition. Establishing and involving more NGOs is a step towards the sustainability of this tradition [Tjarve, Zemite and Freiberga 2017, 2018] and this corresponds also to the conclusions of the research *Song and Dance Celebration in a Changing Social Environment* – the whole organisation of the SDC process should be evaluated from the point of view of modern public governance concepts, with special emphasis on the possibility of delegating state tasks to the third sector (NGOs) and implementing new forms of cooperation (e.g. public-private partnership). (..) It is recommended to evaluate the possibility of gradually transforming this system into a classic third sector, where public funding for amateur art is administered through competitions [Tīsenhofs et al. 2008: 63]. As we can observe, this transformation takes place too slowly – even 12 years later there are just a few positive examples.

The views of participants and community members about the distribution of power and responsibilities among different stakeholders

Regardless the impressive number of the SDC community, the data show that 87% of the community admit they do not have a chance to impact the place and time of the SDC events, the choice of chief-conductors and chief-leaders, the programme

and repertoire[1] and the selection process of the artistic groups – basically they cannot impact the decision-making, the development of the tradition or the organising process of the SDC [Research Centre of the LAC 2014]. In 2014, soon after the XXV Nationwide Latvian Song and XV Dance Celebration the survey of the participants was conducted [Research Centre of the LAC 2014] with the goal to find out their attitude towards the tradition and several organisational aspects of the Celebration. In the question about who should take the responsibility of organising the next Celebration the Top 3 answers were the Ministry of Culture (35%), the Latvian National Centre for Culture (28%) and the Government (Cabinet of Ministers) (10%). This also corresponds to the conclusions in the previous research and amateur art participant survey from 2017 that the majority of participants in amateur art activities in Latvia do not support the need to co-finance their participation in amateur art activities. For the most part, it is perceived as an obligation of the state and municipalities (validating this statement with an argument of the Song and Dance Celebration being a national tradition that should be safeguarded by public authorities). The participants are not willing to pay for the central expenses, such as the rent of the rehearsal venue or the salary of the artistic leader [Tjarve, Zemite and Freiberga 2018]. Basically, this reveals that the majority of the SDC community is satisfied with the existing system where the public authorities have a dominating role in the governance of the SDC.

In the meantime, participants occasionally express their opinion and dissatisfaction with certain aspects of the SDC organisation. While preparing for the Nationwide SDC in 2018, community members expressed publicly (mainly in social media) their disapproval about several aspects of the management and decision making in regard to the SDC: costs and the process of the public procurement of the costumes; repertoire of the gala dance concert; the selection process of the repertoire etc. [Delfi.lv 2017]. On the one hand, it is a democratic process which is facilitated by easy access to social media and active networking of community through different media, while on the other hand it might be also a sign of a greater need to involve the community in decision making.

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[1] Songs and the repertoire in general are chosen by the organisers, the Council of the Song and Dance Celebration and the Action Committee of the Nationwide Latvian Song and Dance Celebration, and main chief-conductors, which are highly educated and respected professionals. (..) Some of them lead the best and most recognized and awarded choirs in Latvia. On the contrary, absolute majority of more than 15,000 gala concert participants (amateurs) have completely different musical education, aesthetic taste and expectations. The professionals wish to raise the quality of the performance as high as possible, while for most of the amateurs socialisation, communication and emotional and spiritual fulfilment is more important, and giving highly professional performance is secondary [Treimane 2017].

Also, theoretical sources suggest that intangible cultural heritage is based on the bottom-up activities. The authors assume that although in general the SDC tradition maintenance is considered to be satisfactory and the organisational system at the moment works fine, for fostering the tradition and increasing the role of the community higher involvement of the tradition bearers would be recommended.

Conclusions and recommendations for future

As theoretical literature sources reveal, in the participatory governance model the protection and safeguarding, management and promotion of cultural heritage require effective multilevel governance and good cross-sectoral cooperation, involving all stakeholders, from public authorities and professionals to private actors, civil society organisations, NGOs and the voluntary sector [European Union 2018: 12]. The authority is granted to all the involved sides, emphasising that in this model the decisions are made by a collective, not by an individual [Sani et al. 2015]. Yet, participatory governance may also bring along risks. Even though the civic participation may lead to the stronger identification or comprehension about the heritage, without the public support the experiments may lead to even higher endangerment to the heritage itself. It is significant in case of endangered cultural heritage, but also where large-scale communities are involved, as the opinions between different stakeholders might vary greatly. Therefore, a tentative approach is necessary, combining top-down approach in setting the regulations and bottom-up approach in engaging the community members.

In the example of the SDC, a tradition that involves the largest intangible cultural heritage community in the country, the tradition is strictly regulated by the Song and Dance Celebration Law. The participatory governance is instituted horizontally by involving different state and municipal stakeholders, but excludes the direct vertical collaboration with the actual members of the SDC community and participants of the SDC. This implies that there are limited possibilities for the community – the actual tradition bearers – to become involved in the decision-making process regarding the Celebration. This also contradicts another law supporting the tradi-tion – the Intangible Cultural Heritage Law – that delegates free rights to the com-munity to participate in the organisational process or even to refuse to participate in the safeguarding measures implemented by public authorities.

A positive example of participatory governance is the activity of the Latvian Song Celebrations Society, an NGO that claims to become an umbrella-NGO in the amateur art field. This NGO is eventually becoming an equal partner in the SDC tradition maintenance process next to the public authorities. Despite its growing importance also in the official documentation [Cabinet of Ministers 2016; LNCC

2018], the Society itself does not show a regular and stable financial activity or employees – its work should be strengthened as it is currently based on a voluntary work of enthusiasts and strong personalities, and overall this does not correlate to sustainability. In recent years at least one strong player from the NGO sector is to be heard in the higher level of the organisers of the SDC process.

Although the surveys of the SDC participants show that the tradition maintenance is considered to be satisfactory and the organisational system at the moment is working fine, for fostering the tradition and increasing the role of the tradition bearers' stronger involvement and support for the bottom-up activities of the community would be recommended. This is also needed to develop a more democratic and sustainable approach to safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, as recommended by the international standard setting instruments that introduce the concept of participatory governance. Moreover, occasionally dissatisfaction with authoritarian and top-down governance of the SDC emerges in public and social media, implicitly indicating the need for a more bottom-up approach and greater involvement of community members in the decision making. In addition, the principles of participatory governance should be incorporated in the Song and Dance Celebration Law to be in line with the more recent Law on Intangible Cultural Heritage. Taking into account the activities of the most powerful NGO Latvian Song Celebrations Society, the overall direction can be considered as positive, although there is still a need for improvements.

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CULTURE CROSSROADS

ARTISTS AND CULTURAL WORKERS AND THE LEGACY OF KGB IN THE ACTUAL PUBLIC DISCUSSION LANDSCAPE IN LATVIA

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to examine how myths, narratives and biases referring to the recent history are born and developed in nowadays Latvia, supported by the analysis of the case study of the legacy of KGB and its actualization in the public discussion landscape focusing on the relationship of KGB and artists and cultural workers.

One of the main criteria for narrowing the research subject to regarding only the relationship between representatives of the fields of arts and culture and KGB is that those particular relationship cases have caused the most heated discussions in mass media and general public, mostly due to the undeniable public 'visibility' of the aforementioned professionals as well as due to personal in-depth connection of society members with art products, artists and cultural workers via artistic preferences, engagement with cultural processes, individual contribution to professional and amateur arts, emotional links, memories etc. Another important aspect to be considered is the strong connectedness of arts and culture with the state apparatus, as throughout history arts and cultural production has served as a propaganda tool, putting forward regime ideology and granting a certain kind of 'power legitimization' as supported by entertainment industry.

In order to get a deeper insight into the formation of the myths, narratives and biases referring to the relationship between artists and cultural workers in nowadays Latvia, the authors of the study have combined empiric data analysis based on the research project by the Government Commission for KGB Research at the University of Latvia, the purpose of which was to prepare KGB card files for public access on the website of the National Archives of Latvia, and qualitative media and public discussion narrative analysis, focusing on how certain aspects referring to

Soviet legacy in general and specifically to cooperation between artists and cultural sector workers and KGB have been framed and portrayed in actual social memory representations.

Keywords: *cultural workers, KGB, collaboration, agents.*

Discussion

Undoubtedly, an in-depth assessment of the impact of Soviet state security services to the general society of the occupied Latvia can be fraudulent due to the current research progress that has been insofar focused on data collection and resolving the issues circulating around the pros and cons of the necessity of making KGB agent files accessible for public. However, even the empiric statistics allows to obtain quantitative data characterizing the number of cultural sector workers cooperating with KGB.

Currently there is available information on several thousand former KGB agents recruited during the Soviet occupation. The data are accessible for public as KGB agent files published on the website of the National Archives of Latvia: 7998 files have been published in the agency's alphabetical index, 4441 – in the agency's statistical file index, and 75 in the KGB's unofficial employees index, as well as 447 cards in the Agency's supplementary accounting file, 688 cards in the collection of cards excluded from the statistical file, 558 entries in the journal of the agency excluded from the KGB, 22,935 entries in 53 register journals of the agency and in other materials. Certainly, it is necessary to take into account the fact that the available archives are incomplete – they lack the agents' personal files and assignment lists, which would allow to specify the tasks and responsibilities of each agent. Therefore, it is necessary to refer to other sources (mainly eyewitnesses' memories). Nevertheless, the above-mentioned KGB document archive is the largest in the Baltic States and one of the largest in Eastern Europe, therefore it can be regarded as a vital reference [kgb.arhivi.lv].

According to the data provided by the Government Commission for KGB Research, about 600 recruitment cases involve artists and cultural workers [Review of The Government Commission for KGB Research]. The authors of the article have also examined 1500 cards in the alphabetical index of the KGB Agency. As a result, 148 cultural workers have been identified, or 9.87% of the total number of the recruited agents.

In the course of the study it has been established that the KGB agency in the occupied Latvia covered all layers of society [Review of The Government Commission for KGB Research]. Thus, it can be concluded that although the number of cultural workers and artists recruited by KGB is rather significant, there is no reason to believe that it is higher than the number of other professional and social groups. However,

it must also be taken into account that different social and professional strata have different 'visibility' in the public sphere, such as media representations, appearance in public discussions, strong associative link between author and production, ability and accessibility to shaping and developing public opinion and other factors contributing in particular when we consider cultural sector representatives. These aspects undergo more detailed analysis in the further course of the discussion.

Thematization of the Soviet past in nowadays Latvia: KGB heritage and cultural sector

Thirty years after the collapse of the Soviet Union historical developments of the Soviet occupation period are still an acute topic in the public discussion space of Latvia. The process of preparing the former Latvian SSR archives for publication and publishing the information in 2014–2018 exacerbated the discussion. The same topicality has not been lost referring to the issue of the impact of the KGB legacy on the Latvian cultural sector.

Some of the main undercurrents in the ongoing discussion are prompted by comments from well-known personalities in the public space of Latvia, referring to the issue of making KGB agents' filing systems accessible for general public in December 2018. For instance, the poet and public figure Māra Zālīte (1952) commented on this question as quoted: "We may not avoid publishing, opening and examination. It had to be done a long time ago. But despite the delay it has to be done. We may not avoid it. It [the issue] will rot and decay and poison the blood of the people all along" [LSM.lv]. The composer Mārtiņš Brauns (1951) has commented: "I think that the special services of Russia would have gained a big victory with such a public exposure, as the people still serving those services would definitely be missing in these lists. The officials following the orders could falsify the lists according to any requirements" [LA.lv]. In turn, the President of the Republic of Latvia (2015–2019) Raimonds Vējonis (1966) stated the following: "Before making hasty conclusions, it is essential to wait for and to gather additional information. If we come to early conclusions, we run the risk of creating a false understanding of history instead of a better understanding of the totalitarian regime, its mechanisms of action, and total control of society during the occupation of Latvia" [LETA].

The aforementioned views prevailed in surveys questioning the opinion of the residents of Latvia whether KGB archives should be published or not. For example, a population survey organized by the KSC Scientific Research Commission in 2016 identified the following predominant opinions: "Documents should be disclosed to the public immediately" (28.4%), "Documents should be disclosed to the public with scientific explanations" (33.7%). In 2018, the respective indicators were 34.3% and 27.1% [Materials of The Government Commission for KGB Research].

These replies allow us to raise a question regarding the peculiarities of the perception of the recent past events in Latvia. There is a certain degree of radicalization and mutual incompatibility. This is particularly the case regarding the heritage of KGB in the cultural sector and the views expressed by cultural workers. Furthermore, some of the possible mechanisms for the formation of such a situation have been outlined.

Background of the myth speculating about the impact of the KGB on the cultural sector

The history of the development of various myths speculating about the impact of the activities of the KGB in the occupied Latvia, including speculations about the cooperation of the KGB with the cultural sector, has been lasting several decades already. To a large extent the formation of various prejudices and misconceptions has been promoted by the Latvian state policy – as a result of refusing to start a comprehensive lustration policy immediately after the restoration of independence in 1991. On the contrary, the documentary heritage of KGB until the end of 2018 had been largely secreted and inadmissible. This condition served as a ground for a plethora of rumours and misinformation to be developed.

As one of the most influential sources that has largely contributed to myth development must be mentioned mass media that often have served the information about the activities of KGB by linking it to well-known people – especially those representing cultural sphere. The earliest example of such miscommunication is an article by Elita Veidemane (1955) and Ilmārs Latkovskis (1958), "KGB senior officer in an interview to *Atmoda*: "Publishing of the Lists would be destructive"" released in 1991. The article particularly focused on the cooperation between well-known cultural workers and KGB. It also enlisted nicknames of the supposed KGB agents composed by a KGB employee. However, the published data provided only affiliation and nicknames of the prospective agents, but not their first and last names: for example, "Džeina" (nickname), name, surname (cached), film director, Riga Film Studio [Veidemane; Latkovskis]. The article allowed a spectrum of speculations and myths to emerge, many of which referred to assumed cooperation between KGB and cultural sector workers. The misleading practice of this article was often repeated in the coming years after the re-establishment of the independence of Latvia. Media, political discussions and educational institutions as well as other actors contributed to the formation of myths; meanwhile on the basis of the already existent myths new developments arose while the myths rooted in the 1991 article that supposedly revealed the names of the cultural workers collaborating with KBG were additionally strengthened and broadcast. The authors of the article have enlisted some of the most widespread myths as emerging by analysis of qualitative interviews conducted from 2016–2018 (at the period of submitting the article the research analysing the

contents of the interviews in detail is still in progress therefore we provide only a preliminary insight in the opinions circulating in the general public and occasionally in mass media or political discussion arena): "there are many cultural workers in the 'KGB sacks'", "all the artists who travelled abroad collaborated with KGB", "all the big names have already been removed, there are only writers and artists left" – and certainly, the most popular belief and public claim: "I know the names of the people who collaborated", not to forget that often these names would be of popular artists and cultural workers.

The generation of these beliefs and myths is also strongly influenced by the perception of the Soviet occupation period in the contemporary society of Latvia. It must be noted that on the contrary to occasionally supported belief that the Soviet past is undoubtedly negatively viewed by the most part of the population, especially amongst Latvian native speakers, clearly there are more complicated and deeper processes affecting the perception of this period, which simultaneously also leave an impact on the ways how the issues linked with the KGB heritage are viewed in nowadays society. The discussion whether Soviet period has to be and is regarded as exclusively negative by nowadays society is beyond the thematic boundaries of this article. However, it can be observed that due to the policy suggesting to regard the Soviet occupation period as 'dark ages', a policy which was particularly supported between the period of re-establishing Latvia's national independence and Latvia's accession to the European Union, the Soviet past in the social memory the population of Latvia more and more begins to turn into a kind of 'historia obscura': a bizarre, chaotic, veiled and preferably avoided narrative. For younger generations this tendency results in a perception of blank or misinterpreted period in the history of Latvia. For example, as reflected in the recorded interviews after teenagers and young adults were asked about their general knowledge of the Soviet period, often only the benchmarks of the era are recognizable: for instance, R., a 14 year-old boy had his only reference about the Soviet occupation period related events got from a film about the re-establishment of the independence of Latvia: "Soviet time... erm... we were watching a film about it at school... there were barricades in the streets and that... how do they call it when all the people carry flags?", while A., a 24 year-old woman with a master's degree, working in an international company displayed only slightly broader knowledge: "First, there was the deportation to Siberia... (a long pause)... well... then... nothing happened till the independence" [Liena Galeja's personal archive]. Hereafter fragments from interviews conducted for the purpose of collecting empiric data for Liena Galeja's doctoral thesis "Analysis of the Representations of Soviet Nostalgia in the Context of the Current Cultural Landscape of Latvia" have been used. In general, 82 interviews have been conducted so far, the data analysis is currently in progress.

This forgetfulness can manifest itself not only as a lack of interest in the recent past and loss of identity, but also as a fertile soil for the development of distorted views, myths and preconceptions regarding the Soviet era and its heritage, part of which is the so-called KGB sacks. Or, as Jan Assmann has pointed out, by regards and interpretations of history not only present and future perceptions of actual generations are formed, but also hints and stimuli are given to encourage certain steps to be taken [Erll 2008], – that makes us not only ask the question how the knowledge about the names on the file cards would resonate in the younger generation, but also to wonder whether forgetfulness might pave the road to the repetition of history.

Another aspect of the state policy advances towards discrediting the Soviet era manifests if we regard the older generation who have experienced this time personally. In this case we cannot talk about induced forgetting but rather about avoidance and regarding the Soviet past as an 'uncomfortable history' that is difficult to ignore but shall be treated with suspicion or rather swept under the rug by all means. The legacy of KGB is one of the buzzwords among the 'Soviet taboo' topics. For example, the political scientist Ilga Kreituse (1952) commented on the 'opening' of the KGB archives scheduled for 2018: "My dears, *cheka* sacks have been cleaned, emptied and cleared. [...] I know a person who was offered his card file for a certain amount of dollars. It was during the 5th Saeima" [Dienas personība ar Veltu Puriņu]. This also refers to the KGB legacy affecting the cultural sector. For example, the authors have sampled a significant number of comments online. Even taking into account the question of validity of these comments as a reference, it shall be noted that the opinion suggesting cautious approach towards the contents of the files is a frequent occurrence, more than in a few cases in the context of fear to find names of celebrities and cultural workers there. For example, a commentator with the nickname "huk" said on September 11, 2018 (delfi.lv): "Honestly I am even not interested in those lists, as it is absolutely no fun to read enlisted the names of famous artists and doctors that, from what I have heard, form the majority there" [Delfi 1].

It can be easily observed that both comments, despite the former one belongs to a professional political analyst while the latter comes from an anonymous Internet commentator, reflect upon the aforementioned myths connected to the legacy of KGB in post-Soviet Latvia. Ilga Kreituse's comment follows the assumption that the contents of the files have been significantly changed and thus cannot be regarded as authentic, while the online comment directly forwards and multiplies the myth that the files mostly contain names of celebrities, including those of artists. Both comments also display fear of how the publishing of the files might affect the present.

Stigmatization and induced forgetting referring to the Soviet past in the post-Soviet Latvia is also strongly related to a tendency characteristic for communities in transition periods, when being on the lookout for a common enemy helps to

strengthen sense of belonging, very often expressed as national consciousness. This process may occur naturally as part of national awakening, like it happened in late 1980s and early 1990s, or can be reinforced and sustained by state policy in case there is a general feeling of crisis and loss of ideals caused by economic or social disruptions, that could be regarded as referring to the situation in Latvia following the global financial crisis of the previous decade. The mystery veiling the contents of KGB archives served particularly well this 'common enemy searching' purpose. That can be explained by two fundamental reasons. The first one is strongly influenced by historical events and reminiscences of the collective trauma connected to the massive deportations in the 1940s as well as to the so-called *Year of Terror*, continuously re-awakened in the social memory by public representations, among which those of KGB agents are one of the most powerful and often overlay with a diversity of other Soviet authority forces, both in the 1940s and later. This perceived connection is still alive in the social memory, at times leading to paradoxical conclusions, for instance, as one of the interviewees was asked if she had checked the KGB card files after their publication (the interview was recorded in April 2019), she replied: "No, I do not have a need to do it. My family stayed safe, no one was deported. Checking [the files] would not change anything for me" [Interview with A. (59 y/o), HR specialist; Liena Galeja's personal archive]. The interviewee's answer illustrates that the responsibility for the traumatic experiences of the collective past can be often addressed to the persons who have collaborated with KGB in later decades and thus have nothing to do with the aforementioned events.

Another reason why cultural workers collaborating with the KGB are treated as a collective enemy is related to splitting between "blue collar" and "white collar" social layers in the society of Latvia. It should not be overlooked that this splitting has been strongly enhanced by Soviet era type of "cultural revolution" that accentuated the power of the working class, and simultaneously, by certain privileges accessible only to the upper-class Soviet citizens loyal to the regime. For example, an opportunity to travel abroad, in particular beyond the socialist countries, was regarded as one of such privileges. The access to travelling was often exclusively linked with reporting to Soviet authorities, and this assumption now is frequently transferred to speculations about cultural workers' and artists' presumed collaboration with KGB – to quote one of the online commentators (Nickname "So it is", (September 11, 2018, delfi.lv): "Everybody who for some reason travelled outside the USSR had to go to the so-called Part 1 before and after". Since artists and cultural workers were among those who travelled most often, for general public the envy directed towards the differences regarding mobility became transformed into accusations for reporting to KGB: "They all went there [abroad] because they reported [to KGB]. All the actors, reported and travelled" [Interview with D. (70), former amateur

theatre actress; Liena Galeja's personal archive]. This opinion, often hand in hand with certain names of presumed cultural workers mentioned, was expressed in several of the recorded interviews, often traced in online commentaries and also broadcast in mass media, particularly in interviews with well-known public figures that played a significant role in the process of national awakening and restoring of Latvia's independence. As a typical example can be mentioned the statement by the popular journalist and political figure Dainis Īvāns (1955), one of the leaders of the movement of the restoration of the independence of Latvia between 1986 and 1991, also the leader of the Popular Front of Latvia from 1988 to 1990. Īvāns hinted that there had been a strong relationship between the composer Imants Kalniņš (1941) and KGB [Pietiek 2015]. Notable that neither Īvāns' statement nor several other similar accusations expressed by influential public actors referring to themselves as connoisseurs regarding the topic, would be confirmed after KGB agent files were made publicly available in December 2018. However, the publication of a series of the aforementioned interviews added to the rumours about the possibility that a certain person would have collaborated with the KGB and often reinforced the false beliefs circulating in society. It must be also mentioned that since revealing names was strictly banned during the research process, media interviews with the members of the Government Commission for KGB Research were also subjected to a number of speculations and interpretations.

Conclusions

The Soviet past is still a topical issue in the public debate in Latvia. Despite the fact that there have been strong state policy determined attempts to stigmatize the Soviet era and thus induce forgetting the past, the recent discussion about the necessity of revealing the names of the persons collaborating with KBG has actualized the topic both for the representatives of the older generation that have experienced the Soviet era in person and also for younger people who receive the information on the topic, often being unable to interpret it due to the lack of direct experience and historical knowledge. In both cases, memory politics as it has developed in the post-1989 Latvia has afflicted the possibility of impartial lustration policy, instead offering a fertile soil for a number of myths and false beliefs to be created, often on the basis of ignorance and search for a collective enemy. In numerous cases these myths have been linked to influential public personalities among which cultural workers and artists are of particular prominence due to their recognizability. Thus, following the rumours and personal beliefs about the KGB file contents, among presumable personas, who might have collaborated with KGB, names of actors, musicians, visual artists, filmmakers and other representatives of creative arts are often mentioned. The frequency and intensity of these beliefs is often directly linked to the person's public

influence, recognizability or privileges such as access to travelling abroad, personal possessions and others.

It can also be noted that, with regard to the perception of Soviet history in general and the perception of the KGB role in the history, some dominant tendencies can be observed in the contemporary public discussion room of Latvia. First of all, there are uneven, chronological and thematic contradictions referring to this stage of history. It is not perceived as a whole, but as a set of distinct significant events. The problem of KGB activity is one of the following points of gravity of perception. Secondly, Soviet history is often perceived as "uncomfortable history", to a great extent due to the post-1989 memory and history policies in Latvia, but also because of the fact that as the past events are still very recent and eyewitnesses still form a significant part of the society, contrasting remembrances are possible when comparing facts and personal convictions, beliefs, views and strivings to preserve a positive persona in the eyes of society, often by modified interpretation of the past events.

Particularly due to the latter aspect cultural workers often find themselves in the centre of a heated public debate where they either are asked to defend themselves or to "reveal the truth". However, it shall be noted that media publications have played a significant role in sustaining and reinforcing the myths already present in the general society, especially what refers to the cooperation between KGB institutions and cultural workers or other influential public figures.

It could be expected that since KGB files have been made publicly accessible as from December 2018, the myths and false beliefs should gradually fade to be replaced by factual data. However, at the moment this paper is being composed, this cannot be regarded as the case yet. Despite the fact that the names are available, the myth speculating that the "real, true" information is being hidden, is still present. Various assumptions about the published files being fake, archives being taken to Moscow or hidden by the state authorities of Latvia are still circulating alongside with ongoing speculations regarding certain well-known personalities being related to the KGB, just without documental evidence publicly available.

The purpose of this article is neither to offer solutions to the problem, nor to draw optional future scenarios. However, now when the first round of research and disclosing the data to the public has been completed, the claim for scholarly research practices to be applied when dealing with the subject has not lessened, and it must be recognized that political and media discussion cannot replace an analytical approach that should be optimally provided by interdisciplinary effort considering different angles, interpretations and reviews of the KGB legacy, both as factual file cards, historical and political significance of the topic, and also as myths, beliefs and narratives surrounding the subject.

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THE INTERNATIONAL "COOPERATIVE CODE" COMPARISON OF TRANSCULTURAL COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES OF EUROPEAN COOPERATIVES IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA IN THE RAIFFEISEN YEAR 2018

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Abstract

The International Raiffeisen Year was celebrated in 2018. More than 22 million people in Germany are members of a cooperative, and there are more than 900,000 cooperatives worldwide. They create more than 100 million jobs. Today, they are a driving force for economic and social development, above all on a regional level [Böhnke 2018].

The scientific treatment of the transcultural component of the cooperative idea is below average. The current development of cultural studies in modern societies shows that post-colonial transformation and international interdependence as a result of globalization poses a challenge to coexistence in transcultural societies. Raiffeisen's cooperative idea – which is more than 200 years old – can help to solve current transcultural problems and enable conviviality, the core idea of transculturality. In addition, the cooperative approach, which works separately from religion, can fill cultural-theoretical gaps (there is also no solution of Wolfgang Welsch to problems of different religious backgrounds). In this context, this paper deals with a partial aspect of transculturality – the transcultural communication.

To commemorate Raiffeisen's idea, the Raiffeisen and Cooperative Associations in the German-speaking countries of Germany and Austria launched communication campaigns to raise public awareness of the subject of cooperatives and the cooperative idea that goes back to the original founder Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen. A scholarly examination of the transcultural aspect with regard to the differences and parallels of communication has not yet taken place.

An examination of the orientation of the cooperative or Raiffeisen associations in Germany and Austria is advisable, since Raiffeisen himself spoke German and the cooperative idea gained its fastest support in the region of Germany, Austria and

Switzerland from a historical point of view [Prof. Dr. Matheus 2018 / Editing: Dr. Engelen 2018].

Keywords: *Cooperatives, Raiffeisen Year 2018, Transculturality, Transcultural Communication, Communication Strategy, Communication Impact.*

Introduction

On 30 March 2018, Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen's birthday was celebrated for the 200th time [Mende 2018]. The cooperative idea was included in the representative list of the intangible cultural heritage of humanity by UNESCO in 2016 [Dr. Stange 2016]. The current development of cultural studies in more modern societies shows that post-colonial transformation and international interdependence as a result of globalization is a challenge for coexistence in transcultural societies [Hamm 2001].

Transculturality describes precisely this aspect of the development of clearly delimitable individual cultures into a global culture. In 1997 Wolfgang Welsch described the concept of a society in which cultural identities are constituted by mixing elements of different cultures. Cultural boundaries and the idea of homogeneous national cultures are abolished by merging individual cultures within a community. In this way, modern societies can be seen as structurally heterogeneous and hybrid. In addition, culture is not only formed within individual states, but also forms in various cultural collectives such as religious, political or social groups. The individual identity thus necessarily consists of different cultural affiliations [Welsch 1997]. However, Welsch does not provide a formula for solving different backgrounds.

Raiffeisen's more than 200-year-old cooperative idea can help solve current transcultural problems and enable conviviality, the core idea of transculturality. In addition, the cooperative approach, which works separately from religion, can fill cultural-theoretical gaps.

Part of transculturalism is communication. The theory of transcultural communication is based on the synthesis model and the synergy model. It represents a social constructivist direction within intercultural communication that examines how cultures develop through communication. In the synthesis model, two sizes (thesis/antithesis) are combined into a third (synthesis). From two assembled sizes, a new, third, etc. can be combined. This normative model should be usable independently of the cultural environment. The synergy model describes the "continuous creation of a context of action in which the energy potentials of the foreign cultural communication partners flow together" [Bolten 2006]. The theory is based on the hypothesis that a new culture results from the

convergence of cultural diversity through communication. In order to understand the mechanisms of transcultural communication in relation to Raiffeisen and the cooperative idea, a look at the communication around the Raiffeisen year 2018 is an opportunity.

To commemorate Raiffeisen's idea, the Raiffeisen and cooperative associations – especially in the German-speaking European countries of Germany and Austria – have pursued various (communicative) ways of drawing the general public's attention to the special anniversary. The similar historical-cultural starting point of both countries and the relationship of the population to the topic of "cooperatives" enables a comparison of the communicative strategies of the cooperative associations of both countries in the Raiffeisen Year 2018. The transcultural communication aspect with regard to the focal points of communication in the Raiffeisen Year 2018 in Germany and Austria has not been investigated yet. The subjects under consideration are the campaigns of the cooperative associations in Germany and Austria. The German-speaking region is ideal for investigation, since Raiffeisen himself spoke German and the cooperative idea gained the fastest support from a historical point of view in the region of Germany and Austria [Prof. Dr. Matheus 2018 / Editing: Dr. Engelen 2018].

Discussion

The following compares the two communication campaigns in Germany and Austria. This paper uses a content-comparative methodology and a Limbic map method. For explanation: To make it possible to compare the impact of both campaigns, they can be located on the Limbic map. The Limbic map according to Hans-Georg Häusel uses the findings of brain research for marketing. It is based
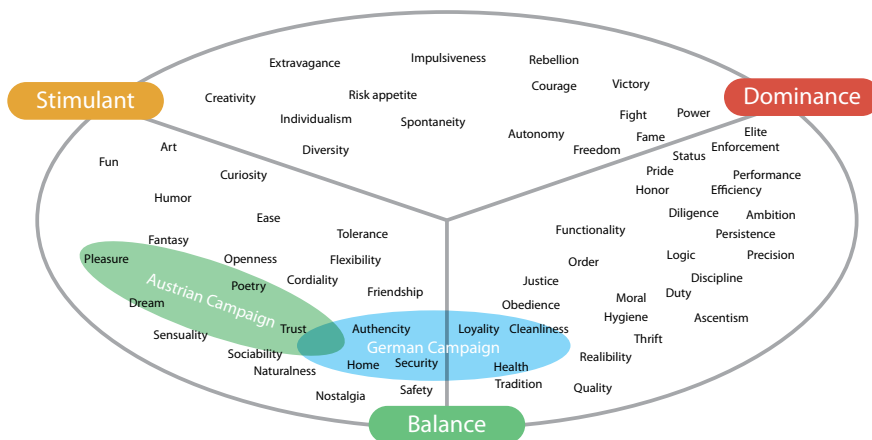

Figure 1. Location of Raiffeisen campaigns from Germany and Austria
on the Limbic map.

on the assumption that people make decisions primarily on the basis of emotions and subconscious motivations. The processes in the so-called limbic system of the brain are therefore of crucial importance [Dr. Häusel 2007]. *"The Limbic approach is a neuro-marketing concept developed by Dr. Hans-Georg Häusel which combines the latest findings and disciplines in psychology, neurobiology, sociology and philosophy and prepares them for marketing. Based on the core statements of the above-mentioned humanities, target groups can be segmented in detail and more comprehensive statements on motive and purchase analyses as well as precise age and gender marketing can be derived. With the help of Limbic, we can obtain important information on how purchasing decisions are really made and why emotions are of great importance when purchasing"* [Ziegler 2015].

The Campaign Initiators
German Raiffeisen campaign

The person Raiffeisen was commemorated and tribute was paid to his work with the nationwide anniversary campaign "The Man Raiffeisen. Great Idea!" by the **German Raiffeisen Association (DRV),** in cooperation with the **National Association of German Cooperative Banks (BVR)** and the **Genossenschaftsverband – Verband der Regionen** (Cooperative Association – Association of Regions) under the patronage of Federal President Frank-Walter Steinmeier [Schmedt 2018]. The aim of the communicative orientation of the campaign around the Raiffeisen Year 2018 was to start a debate on what the cooperative model can contribute to solving current societal challenges. The public was to be made aware of the idea of a cooperative as a democratic economic form of the future [Schmedt 2018].

The German Raiffeisen Association (DRV) is committed to the interests of cooperatively organized companies in the German agricultural and food industry on national, European and international level vis-à-vis politicians, administrators, economic partners and the public. The aim of its work is the practical design of the economic and agricultural policy framework [Schwarze 2015]. The National Association of German Cooperative Banks (BVR) is the umbrella association for the cooperative banking sector in Germany [Schmergal 2016]. The Cooperative Association – Association of the Regions is an audit and consulting association, educational institution and advocacy body for approx. 2,800 member cooperatives [Schütt 2014].

The three associations had commissioned the COMPACT MEDIA agency from Berlin to create and manage campaigns [Schmedt 2018].

Austrian Raiffeisen campaign

Under the motto "Raiffeisen200 – The Power of the Idea", the **Austrian Raiffeisen Association** created a uniform communicative framework for Austrian cooperatives. The Austrian Raiffeisen Association is the auditors' association and the representative body for the Austrian Raiffeisen Group. Consequently, it is the representative of all Austrian Raiffeisen companies. Its work focuses on lobbying, including in the banking sector and the agricultural and food industry. The Austrian Raiffeisen Association supports the cooperatives in improving their competitive position within the food supply chain and in further developing their quality strategy [Reichl 2018].

The aim of the communicative orientation of the campaign was to create a depiction of the historical-cooperative roots and their significance in today's world. In contrast to the German campaign, the advertising media and the entire concept were created and accounted for in-house by the Austrian Raiffeisen Association. Various service packages were made available to the members and the regional cooperatives for implementation on site (workshop, communication, event, travel and digital packages) [Reichl 2018].

Communication content of both Raiffeisen campaigns in Germany and Austria

German Campaign

With the chosen motif, the founding father of the cooperative idea, Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen, is placed in the centre of the campaign. As provider and "head" of the idea, the focus is on the "Man Raiffeisen" with all his (graphic) facets. In addition to the central content such as "Raiffeisen Year 2018" and "200 Years", the campaign motto is "The Man Raiffeisen. Great Idea!". The colour code blue, orange and green is based on the traditional colours of the German cooperative banking sector (Volksbanks and Raiffeisen banks, blue and orange) and the agricultural

Figure 2. Key Visual of German Campaign.

warehouses (green). The contrasting colours black and white serve to contrast with the above-mentioned colour selection. The font is based on Frutiger VR, the popular company typeface that is widespread in the Raiffeisen bank sector.

The key visual was rolled out at the beginning of the Raiffeisen Year in all three associations (the German Raiffeisen Association (DRV), the National Association of German Cooperative Banks (BVR) and the Genossenschaftsverband – Verband der Regionen (Cooperative Association – Association of Regions)). All cooperatives were responsible for its use on a voluntary basis. The German Raiffeisen Association developed its own campaign in addition to the key visual.

Figure 3. Poster motif of the German Raiffeisen Association
for the Raiffeisen Year 2018.

Under the motto "Progress for humans and animals – The cooperatives. The model of success for all of us", the campaign put special emphasis on the agricultural origin of the cooperative idea. Despite its own image world and focus on the agricultural and food industry, the campaign nevertheless refers to the higher-level Raiffeisen 2018 campaign on its landing page (www.raiffeisen2018.de).

Austrian Campaign

For Raiffeisen Day 2014, the initiative "Consciously: Raiffeisen." was developed, which was continued in the Raiffeisen Year 2018. The central approach is a division of the theme: historical cooperative relationships and current (political) developments. The cooperative idea is brought into a larger context and learned patterns there, which historically lead to Raiffeisen's idea.

A special feature is represented by the strong headlines ("We were founded because people had to take control of their own future"), which make a current reference ("Today we are called upon again." Reference to refugee policy).

The central colour code consists of the three main colours of the Austrian Raiffeisen Association: green, yellow and black. White is added as a contrasting colour. The gable cross made of horse heads (in itself the logo of the Austrian Raiffeisen banks) is also used.

Figure 4. "Consciously Raiffeisen" subject. Raiffeisen Zeitung No. 43, October 22, 2015; Austrian Raiffeisen Association.

Figure 5. "Consciously Raiffeisen" subject. Raiffeisen Zeitung No. 20, Thursday, May 18, 2017; Austrian Raiffeisen Association.

The motifs were regularly posted as image advertisements in the Raiffeisen newspaper (circulation of the weekly newspaper: 44,000 copies) and on the association's website. All cooperatives in Austria were also responsible for its use on a voluntary basis.

If you locate the two campaigns on the Limbic map, it becomes clear that the German campaign is increasingly acting in the area of "balance" and stands for traditional values there. The campaign stands for terms such as "security", "tradition", "clarity" and "nostalgia".

The separate campaign of the Raiffeisen Association uses a classical agricultural image to refer to a traditional image of the cooperatives.

The Austrian campaign puts the historical Raiffeisen idea much more strongly into a modern context and encourages reflection. These factors increasingly target the "stimulant area" of the Limbic map.

Communication content of both Raiffeisen campaigns in Germany and Austria

In Germany, the campaign initiators published a representative survey at the beginning of the Raiffeisen Year 2018, which was created in 2017 to measure the image of the cooperatives and the cooperative idea. After the Raiffeisen Year, no measurement has taken place so far, so that the figures collected cannot currently be connected.

Two thirds of the population of Germany (64 percent) in 2017 believed that cooperatives provide more social justice. This was reported by the German Friedrich-Wilhelm-Raiffeisen Society. The figure is as high as 70 percent for those under the age of 30. Three quarters of respondents consider the economic form to be fitting for the times. Only one in ten (11 percent) think that cooperatives are outmoded. On the other hand, only four percent of the respondents associate "Raiffeisen" with a person or know Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen as the father of the cooperative idea. Of the respondents, 79 percent associate cooperatives with banks, 76 percent with agriculture and 73 percent with apartments. 90 percent said they would be willing to join a cooperative that is committed to their needs.

The opinion of forsa is based on the survey of 1,010 people aged 18 and older in December 2017 on behalf of the German Friedrich-Wilhelm Raiffeisen Society [Eder 2018].

The survey period of the Austrian telephone survey was February 2018. The surveyed population in Austria were those aged 16 and older. A total of 1,000 interviews were conducted.

To the question "Overall, do you have a more positive impression or a more negative impression of Raiffeisen?" 62 percent of Austrians replied that they had a

more positive impression of Raiffeisen, 25 percent had a more negative impression and 13 percent did not respond. Fewer than four percent of the respondents associate "Raiffeisen" with a person or know Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen as the father of the cooperative idea. Of the respondents, 83 percent associate cooperatives with banks, 77 percent with agriculture and 65 percent with apartments. When asked what attributes are applicable to the Raiffeisen Association, 81 percent of respondents answered "powerful", 68 percent "Austrian" and 66 percent "trustworthy" [Reichl 2018].

Comparison of both evaluations reveals massive parallels in terms of ignorance of the origin of the cooperative idea or the historical person Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen, both in Germany and in Austria. Nevertheless, the overall organization is attributed a positive picture/image and is trusted to have a certain strength, and people can imagine becoming part of the group.

Conclusions

Cooperatives provide an alternative economic model in which all members participate equally and have an equal say in issues of investment and expenditure. What the cooperative world has so far lacked is an exciting narrative that brings the idea to the consciousness of people today as a democratic economic form.

While the focus of the German campaign was on the agriculture-historical context of the cooperative idea and history, the Austrian campaign deliberately tried to place the topic of cooperatives into a larger historical and socio-cultural context.

The evaluation of both campaigns must take into account the cultural transfer. This method, which was developed by M. Espagne and M. Werner at the CNRS in Paris in the mid-1980s, arose from a criticism of comparative studies, the shortcomings of which it seeks to circumvent [Espagne/Werner 1988: 11–34]. The focus is on two factors: the divergence between the importance of a cultural export in the respective context (in this case the campaign idea to Austria) or the deliberate reinterpretation of the message in the new environment (Austrian campaign: historical idea in the context of current events). The second factor is the acculturation of the imported goods, i.e. the creative process that accompanies the acquisition and mediation of the foreign goods [Moebius/Quadflieg 2011: 111–114].

The relationship between advertising and society is considered in the literature from various perspectives. On the one hand, it is a question (in the context of advertising impact research) of the extent to which advertising can bring about changes in society; on the other hand, it is a question of the extent to which society itself influences the form and content of advertising offers [Burst 2002]. The consumer is seen here as a key figure who controls the economic process to a high degree through demand: successful advertising must always address the existing or evolving needs of society. It must sell the same brands from the past under different aspects and

with different persuasion strategies. Advertising can only work if it accurately meets the spirit of the times, i.e. addresses people's wishes, feelings, expectations and fears and adapts to the respective social and economic conditions. Accordingly, if the advertising industry fulfils these tasks, social and cultural structures of a company must be reflected in advertising, i.e. the interpretation of advertising offers must also make it possible to derive valuable statements about the company concerned [Kroeber-Riel/Weinberg 1999]. In the above case, it means that both consumers in Germany and Austria want to benefit from or participate in the benefits of a cooperative despite ignorance of the historical background.

According to Schmidt and Spiess, advertising is an important and sensitive indicator of social and cultural change, a kind of resonant body. Due to the need to generate consequential attention among the respective target groups, the advertising system is forced to monitor other social systems closely. This observation can take place either informally, through personal experiences of the creative community, or in the form of scholarly analyses by market research institutes. This way, the advertising system imports communication possibilities from other social systems and translates them into advertising communications under its own system conditions [Schmidt / Spiess 1995]. Therefore, a further study and measurement should examine whether the basic knowledge of cooperatives has improved during the Raiffeisen Year and whether there are other reasons for this. Why consumers choose cooperatives. Particularly topics such as co-determination and exclusivity could play a role here. This can be understood by the terms of social and cultural change. This refers to changed stratification structures and income relationships, changed professional and family structures, changes in production and consumption relationships. Cultural change refers to changes in value orientations as well as changes at the subjective-psychological level, such as changes in individual behaviour or individual objectives. For example, the question is asked whether collective interests are in the foreground or rather private, self-serving interests are being pursued.

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